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WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE !

THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE
VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

VOLUME I

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — VIET NAM

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231

231

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party is in four volumes. Volume one contains five documents of the Congress. Volume two contains a report on the tasks and direction of the First Five Year Plan for the development of national economy. Volume three contains a selection of 10 addresses made by delegates. Volume four contains speeches made by representatives of the fraternal parties, telegrams and messages of greeting read at the Congress.

CONTENTS

<i>Opening Address at the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party . . .</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Political Report of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party to the Third National Congress of the Party</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Resolution of the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party on the tasks and line of the Party in the new stage.</i>	<i>215</i>
<i>Appeal of the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.</i>	<i>257</i>
<i>Closing Address at the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.</i>	<i>265</i>

HO CHI MINH

OPENING ADDRESS
AT THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

September 5, 1960

Dear Comrades,

Today, the Third National Congress of our Party opens at a time when our entire people are joyfully celebrating the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This Congress of our Party is attended by over 500 delegates representing more than 500,000 Party members throughout the country and personifying the heroic militant tradition of our Party over these thirty years. On behalf of the Central Committee, I extend cordial greetings to you, to all the cherished members of our Party, to the representatives of the Viet Nam Socialist Party, and the Viet Nam Democratic Party, and the representatives of the member organizations of the Fatherland Front.

Our Congress is very happy to extend its warm welcome to the Comrades delegates of

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
The Communist Party of China,
The Albanian Party of Labour,
The Bulgarian Communist Party,
The Polish United Workers' Party,
The Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,
The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party,
The Rumanian Workers' Party,
The Korean Workers' Party,

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
The French Communist Party,
The Communist Party of India,
The Communist Party of Indonesia,
The Communist Party of Japan,
The Communist Party of Canada,
and other fraternal Communist Parties.

Prompted by lofty sentiments of international brotherhood, our comrades have come to take part in our Congress and to bring to us the friendship of the fraternal Parties. So,

*Though frontiers and mountains stand between us,
Proletarians of the whole world come together as one
family,*

On behalf of the Congress, I heartily salute all the workers, peasants, intellectuals, army-men, cadres, youths and children who have been enthusiastically engaged in emulation in recording new achievements in honour of the Party Congress and the Fifteenth National Day.

Dear Comrades,

Over the past thirty years, large numbers of our comrades and compatriots have heroically made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the Revolution. During the War of Resistance, how many fighters gave their lives for the Fatherland ! Over the last six years, how many brave fighters in the South have in their turn given their lives for the Nation ! Our Party and our people shall forever treasure the memory of their most splendid sons and daughters who have

fallen in the fight for the cause of national liberation and the ideal of Communism. (One minute's silence).

More than nine years have elapsed since our Party's Second National Congress.

Over the past nine years, our Party, implementing the line of the Second Congress, led our people's bitter, difficult and heroic War of Resistance. The brilliant victory of Dien Bien Phu put an end to the aggressive war unleashed by the French colonialists assisted by the American imperialists. The Geneva Agreements were signed ; peace was restored in Indo-China on the basis of international recognition of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of our country. North Viet Nam was completely liberated. Six years have elapsed ; but our country has not yet been re-unified as stipulated by the Geneva Agreements. Our Government and people have always correctly implemented the Agreements signed. But the U. S. — Diem clique are deliberately partitioning our country and shamelessly sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, so that the South of our country is still going through hell under their ruthless rule.

That is why our people have been struggling constantly to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, for the freedom of our compatriots in the South who are being dragged through blood and fire. The widespread, deep-going and powerful struggle of our compatriots in the South is continuing. The South has proved worthy of its glorious title : " Brass Wall of the Fatherland. "

Since the re-establishment of peace, the North, completely liberated, has shifted over to the stage of socialist revolution. This is a change of great significance in the Vietnamese revolution. Under the leadership of the Party, the Land Reform has been victoriously carried through, liberating the toiling peasants, translating the slogan " Land to the Tillers " into reality.

We have successfully restored our economy and are now victoriously fulfilling the Three-Year Plan for the development of economy and culture. In the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private capitalist industry and commerce, we have won a victory of a decisive character. We have recorded many achievements on the agricultural and industrial productions fronts, and in cultural and educational work, and have achieved first improvements in the people's living standards. The North is becoming more and more consolidated and transformed into a firm base for the struggle for national re-unification. The big victories won over the past nine years have testified to the correctness of our Party's line and the firmness of our Party's leadership. They are victories of Marxism-Leninism in a country which has suffered imperialist oppression and exploitation. Our Party is worthy of the confidence of our people from North to South.

Our Party can be proud to be the heir to our people's glorious traditions, and the guide of our people on the road to a bright future.

Dear Comrades,

All these victories are not the work of our Party alone. They are the common work of our entire people all over the country. The revolution is the work of the masses, not that of any heroic individuals. The success of our Party lies in the fact of having organized and developed the boundless revolutionary power of the people, of having led the people in battle under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The victories of the Vietnamese revolution are due also to the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our warm feelings of gratitude towards the fraternal socialist countries headed by the great Soviet Union. We are also sincerely grateful to other fraternal Parties, first of all, to the French Communist Party, for their active support to our people's just struggle. We sincerely thank all colonial nations and peace-loving people throughout the world, who have always given us their sympathy and support.

The history of the thirty years long struggle of our Party has taught us this :

The best guarantee of victory for the revolution is to steep ourselves in Marxism-Leninism, to remain loyal to the interests of the working class and the people, to preserve solidarity and unity within the Party and between all Communist Parties, and all countries of the big socialist family.

Our Party has in the past always fulfilled these tasks. In the future, too, our Party will undoubtedly continue to do so.

Dear Comrades,

Our Party has won many big victories, but it is not faultless. We have not, however, concealed our mistakes. On the contrary we have frankly practised self-criticism and actively corrected our mistakes. Victories have not sent us dizzy with success, and made us self-complacent. Today, armed with our own experiences and those of the fraternal Parties, we resolutely strive for further and ever greater progress.

The present task of the Vietnamese revolution is to lead the North forward to socialism and to struggle for national reunification by peaceful means, to complete the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

The decisions of this Congress will guide our whole Party and our whole people in the successful construction of socialism in the North, endowing the North with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, making our people's life more and more abundant and happy.

The Second Party Congress was the Congress of Resistance. This present Party Congress is the Congress of Socialist Construction in the North and of struggle for Peaceful National Reunification.

Our people, who showed their heroism in the War of Resistance, are now showing heroism in their labour for national construction. We will undoubtedly succeed in building glorious Socialism in the North.

A prosperous and strong North is the firm base of the struggle for national reunification.

This Congress will shed new light on our people's path of revolutionary struggle leading to peaceful national reunification.

Our nation is one, our country is one. Our people will undoubtedly overcome all difficulties, " achieve national reunification and bring the North and the South together again. "

Dear Comrades,

The Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the big socialist family headed by the great Soviet Union.

It is our duty to defend the advance post of socialism in South-east Asia, to endeavour to contribute to the strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp and to safeguard peace in South-east Asia and the world.

Today socialism has become a powerful world system, as firm as a brass wall. Our people are greatly encouraged by the momentous achievements of the Soviet Union in the building of Communism and the big victories of China and the other fraternal socialist countries in the building of Socialism. Our people strongly support the foreign policy of peace and the disarmament programme advanced by the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist camp. Our people also rejoice profoundly at the victories won by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their great struggle against the imperialists, especially the American imperialists. It is crystal clear that the forces

of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism throughout the world have become definitely stronger than the imperialist camp. The peoples of the world, uniting closely with one another and struggling actively, will undoubtedly be able to prevent a world war, and establish a lasting peace. The resolute struggle of oppressed peoples will undoubtedly defeat the imperialists and colonialists. Socialism will ultimately triumph throughout the world.

In this great struggle, solidarity between the forces of the socialist countries and the complete unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries is of the utmost importance. We are confident that "the Communist and Workers' Parties will continue to strengthen the cohesion of the countries of the world socialist system and will preserve like the apple of the eye, unity in the struggle for peace and the security of all peoples for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism" (Bucharest Communiqué)

In our time, the imperialists can no longer rule the roost in the world as before. But, so long as imperialism exists, there remains the danger of war. The Declaration of the 1957 Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries reminds us that the Communist and Workers' Parties "regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task... All the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism." We must also bear in mind that "the greater and stronger the unity of the various patriotic and democratic forces, the greater the guarantee of victory in the common struggle."

The imperialists have in the past caused our people much suffering ; U.S. — Diem clique are now partitioning our country, and trampling on the South of our country. So long as we have not driven the American imperialists out of the South, liberated it from the barbarous rule of the U.S. — Diem clique, our people can know no peace of mind. That is why the struggle for the defence of peace and for national reunification cannot be separated from the struggle against American imperialism.

In the common struggle to safeguard peace and national independence in Indo-China, the Vietnamese people resolutely support the Laotian people's present heroic struggle against American imperialism, which has the aim of leading Laos along the road to national concord, independence, unity, peace and neutrality. We sincerely hope that friendly relations between our country and neighbour countries, especially Cambodia and Laos, will be established and promoted in a satisfactory manner.

Dear Comrades,

The cause of socialist revolution in the North and the struggle for national reunification, contributions to the safeguarding of peace in South-east Asia and the world, set heavy but glorious tasks for our Party. To ensure the victory of the revolution, a question of decisive significance is the further heightening of the capacity for struggle of our whole Party, and the promotion of the leading role of our Party in all fields of work.

Our Party has always endeavoured to closely integrate Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Vietnamese revolution. In general, our Party cadres and members are of good revolutionary substance. But we still have many shortcomings, such as : subjectivism, dogmatism, empiricism, bureaucratic style of work, individualism... These shortcomings are hampering the progress of our comrades. We must endeavour to study Marxism-Leninism, strengthen ideological education in the Party, and struggle to overcome these shortcomings. We must further heighten the class character and vanguard character of the Party, constantly strengthening the Party's ties with the masses, uniting with all patriotic and progressive people in order to win victory in the construction of socialism and the struggle for national reunification. We must strive to learn in a creative way from the experiences of the fraternal Parties. We must never fall into arrogance and conceit ; we must be modest, as Lenin taught us.

This present Party Congress will elect the new Central Committee of our Party. We are confident that, with the new Central Committee, our Party will be more closely united and will further mobilize the people throughout the country to strive to fulfil the great task now facing us, which is :

To build socialism in the North, to struggle for national reunification by peaceful means.

— Long live great Marxism-Leninism !

— Long live the heroic working class and people of Viet Nam !

- Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party !
- Long live the solidarity and unity of the fraternal Parties and of the big socialist family headed by the great Soviet Union !
- Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam !
- Long live world peace !

LE DUAN

**POLITICAL REPORT
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY**

September 5, 1960

Dear comrades,

Nearly ten years have elapsed from the Second National Congress of the Party to the present one. In this interval, the situation in the world and at home has seen many important changes in favour of the revolutionary struggle of our people and of the toiling people the world over.

The world socialist system headed by the great Soviet Union has advanced with giant strides and has become the decisive factor in the development of the world situation. The balance of forces in the world has undergone a radical change ; the forces of socialism, national independence and peace have evinced their clear superiority. This has created a real possibility of preventing a world war and of maintaining peace and new facilities for the revolutionary movement in the various countries.

In our country, over the past period of nearly ten years, under the correct leadership of our Party headed by our revered comrade Ho Chi Minh, our people have scored historic victories. These victories have further developed the great achievements of the August Revolution.

The 1945 August Revolution was a resounding, heroic national people's democratic revolution made by the millions of people of our country. It destroyed the State power of the colonialists and feudalists, set up

the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an independent and truly democratic State of the people and opened a new era in the history of the development of our country. The victory of the August Revolution was the splendid success of the extremely heroic struggle for national liberation waged by our people for nearly a hundred years. It was the victory of Marxism — Leninism in Viet Nam, the victory of the correct line of national democratic revolution which our Party drew up and which it led the people throughout the country to put into practice.

The August Revolution was the result of three periods of broad revolutionary upsurge led by our Party. The first was the period of the bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement in the two years of 1930 — 1931, the high point of which was the Nghe-Tinh Soviet Movement ; in this movement, our Party raised the slogans : drive out the imperialists, smash the feudalists, win independence for the nation, give land to the tillers, set up the worker-peasant power. The second was the period of the deep and widespread democratic movement of 1936 — 1939 ; this political movement succeeded in rallying millions of people in the struggle against the reactionary colonialists and the reactionary Court and mandarins, for democratic freedoms, improvement of the people's living standards and preservation of world peace. The third period was that of the national liberation struggle of the Anti-imperialist National United Front and of the Viet Minh League * from the end of 1939 to 1945 ; our Party founded the Viet Minh League and various

* League for National Independence

national salvation organizations, built up military and para-military forces, launched a national salvation movement throughout the country and localized guerilla warfare directed against the Japanese and French fascists and established the Viet Bac Liberated Zone and various guerilla bases. In August 1945, in the light of the favourable turn in the world situation represented by the great victory of the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist war, our Party in good time unleashed a general uprising in order to seize power on a national scale. The successful general uprising was a glorious action of the whole Vietnamese people.

The triumph of the August Revolution represented a new source of enthusiasm for our people. The revolutionary upsurge swept forward with the strength of the giant waves of the ocean. However, the aggressive imperialists and the counter-revolutionary forces at home did not resign themselves to defeat. They conspired together in an attempt to smash our people's revolutionary power and re-impose colonial and feudal rule upon our country. Less than a month after the victory of the August Revolution, the French colonialists launched their aggressive war in south Viet Nam. Our Party resolutely led our southern compatriots to unite with compatriots throughout the country in struggle against the aggressors, causing them many a difficulty. In December 1946, the aggressive war of the French colonialists extended to the whole country. To safeguard their newly-won independence and democracy, to respond to the appeal for national salvation from the Party and from President Ho Chi Minh, our people stood up, the millions of them as

one man, determined to wage the sacred resistance struggle for the defence of their Fatherland. In the course of the resistance for national salvation, our Party had not only to fight against the French colonialist aggressors, desirous of conquering our country, eliminating the leading role of the working class and of our Party, destroying the revolutionary movement. In resolutely waging the resistance struggle and in leading it to victory, our people fulfilled not only their duty to the nation but also their duty to the international revolutionary movement.

In the course of the Resistance, our Party, basing itself upon the worker-peasant alliance and constantly strengthening its leadership, strove to broaden the National United Front, to consolidate the people's democratic power, to develop the people's armed forces, to achieve the unity of the entire nation, to undertake a protracted resistance struggle, to practise self-reliance, to annihilate the enemy and save the country. To permeate everyone with the spirit of protracted resistance was a long process of education and of persevering ideological struggle within the Party and among the people to defeat the wrong tendencies which emerged during the Resistance years. Such was for instance the tendency to pessimism and defeatism, which held that our country was small, our economy backward and poor, our military strength inadequate and that consequently we could not wage a protracted resistance struggle ; or the tendency to impatience, which favoured the launching of a general offensive while objective and subjective conditions were still not ripe. Our Party in good time waged

struggle against these wrong tendencies, it educated the Party members and cadres, the Army and the people to give them a thorough understanding of the difficulties and the favourable factors, the laws of the development and evolution of the resistance for national salvation, thereby raising their fighting spirit and their determination to wage a protracted resistance struggle and to strengthen their confidence in final victory. Our Party constantly held high the spirit of self-reliance and opposed tendencies to wait for and to rely passively on foreign assistance. It encouraged the people to strive to consolidate the rear, develop the resistance economy, drive forward production and practise economy in order to satisfy the heavy demands of the front. At the same time, our Party in good time took advantage of the successes of the world revolutionary movement to impel the resistance forward.

While conducting the Resistance, and in order to foster the forces of resistance, our Party and our people's democratic State undertook democratic reforms step by step, and carried out land reform during the Resistance itself in order to check, then to eradicate exploitation by the feudal class and to improve the livelihood of the toiling people, especially of the peasantry, the biggest force of the resistance. To carry out the land reform during the Resistance itself was a correct policy of our Party. Thanks to this policy, the resistance spirit of tens of millions of peasants was greatly stimulated, the bloc of the worker-peasant alliance was strengthened, the national united front grew firmer, the people's democratic power and

the people's armed forces were consolidated and all resistance activities were visibly enhanced.

Following the successes on the various fronts throughout the country, in Spring 1954, our Army and our people dealt a mortal blow to the complex of fortified positions at Dien Bien Phu, which were the strongest fortified positions in the hands of the French troops, and achieved a glorious victory. More than ten thousand French troops of the Expeditionary Corps, fully equipped and supplied by the American imperialists, had to surrender.

In view of the worsening situation of the French colonialists, the American warmongers plotted to take a direct hand in the Indochinese war, with the aim of prolonging and extending the war. The Geneva Conference frustrated this scheme of the U.S. imperialists. The French colonialists were reduced by this glorious victory of our Army and people to signing the Geneva Agreements. Peace was restored in Indo-China on the basis of the recognition by the various countries of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

The protracted resistance of our people thus ended in success. This success was proof that, in present world conditions, even a small and weak nation, if it stands up in unity to fight resolutely for independence and democracy under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, will find sufficient strength to triumph over any aggressive enemy. This success was also proof that only the correct leadership of the working

class represented by our Party and the scientific revolutionary line of Marxism — Leninism can create conditions for our people to defeat the enemy and win freedom and independence.

Following the victory of the resistance, our Party completed the land reform in the northern part of our country, abolishing feudal land ownership forever and putting into full effect the slogan "Land to the Tillers". The fulfilment of the two basic tasks of the national people's democratic revolution in the North of our country was an historic victory of the Vietnamese people, and opened the way for the Vietnamese revolution to enter a new stage.

During the last six years, our country has been in the stage of socialist revolution in the North and of struggle for the achievement of national reunification. Thanks to the correct leadership of our Party, thanks to the ardent patriotism and the industriousness of our people, and to the wholehearted aid granted by the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries, the North of our country has overcome many difficulties, restored and developed its economy and culture, healed the wounds of war, and erased the vestiges of colonialism and feudalism from the national economy. We are fulfilling the Three-Year Plan to transform and develop economy and to develop culture; socialist transformation and socialist construction are achieving great successes. The heroic struggle of our southern compatriots to oppose the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, though subjected to the most barbarous atrocities and terror, is being firmly maintained and

constantly broadened. The struggle of our entire people for national reunification is developing vigorously.

Looking back over the past stage of our hard struggle and the splendid victories already recorded, we can be proud of the historic role of our Party — the organizer and leader of all successes of the Vietnamese revolution. The unvanquishable strength of our Party lies in the fact that it is unconditionally loyal to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, wholeheartedly serves the people and the Fatherland, unceasingly strengthens its solidarity and unity around the Central Committee and comrade Ho Chi Minh, the revered leader of the working class and of our people and at the same time constantly enhances internationalism. In the future too, we shall endeavour to promote those basic factors in order to raise ever higher the leading role of our Party, thus driving forward the revolutionary cause of our people to still more splendid successes.

At present our Party is facing momentous tasks : to promote socialist construction in the North and to consolidate the North into an ever more solid base for the struggle for national reunification ; to strive to complete the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country, to liberate the South from the atrocious rule of the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen ; to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy ; to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam. To guarantee the full execution of these tasks, we must make our Party even stronger and must strengthen the leadership of the Party. The present National Congress of our Party will define for the

whole Party and the whole people the line for the carrying out of the socialist revolution in the North, for the completion of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country, for the struggle to achieve national reunification ; at the same time it will decide upon the basic orientation for the building of the Party and for the strengthening of Party leadership to meet the new requirements of the revolution.

The second National Congress of our Party was the Congress of resistance for national salvation. The present National Congress is the Congress of construction of socialism in the North and of struggle for the achievement of national reunification. It will open up the road to new victories for the people throughout our country.

I

GENERAL SITUATION AND PRESENT TASKS OF OUR PARTY

Comrades,

The re-establishment of peace in Indo-China, the complete liberation of north Viet Nam, and the laying of a legal basis for the reunification of Viet Nam constituted a great victory for our people and at the same time a great victory for the forces of socialism, peace and democracy in the world. This reflected the balance

of forces in Indo-China and in the world at that time. This great victory created not only the possibility of reunifying our country by peaceful means on the basis of independence and democracy, but also favourable conditions for the revolution in north Viet Nam to advance to a new stage.

However, as a result of the evil aggressive ambitions of the U. S. imperialists and the traitorous activities of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, the South of our country has been turned into a U. S. new typed colony and military base. The schemes of the U.S. imperialists to invade our country are not of recent date. A long time ago, U.S. imperialism began to covet Viet Nam. At the end of the Second World War, it profited from the weakening of the French colonialists who were sinking into the mire of the aggressive war in Indo-China to execute its scheme of replacing the French. In 1947, it forced the French to play the Bao Dai trump card and to allow the Americans to help Bao Dai set up his puppet army in an attempt to establish a falsely "independent" administration as a means of opposing our people's resistance and at the same time facilitating the U.S. manoeuvres to intervene deeply in Viet Nam, and finally to oust the French. In 1949, as the French were encountering many difficulties in their aggressive war in our country, the U. S. imperialists compelled the French to grant fake "independence" to Bao Dai and to let the Bao Dai puppet regime have its own army and broad powers in foreign relations, so as to enable the U. S. to control it directly, and not through the French. In February 1950, the U. S. officially recognized the Bao Dai puppet regime; toward the

end of that year, they signed an agreement on military "aid" to the puppet regime; in 1951, they signed directly with the Bao Dai puppet regime an agreement on economic and technical "assistance". Such "aid" and "assistance" agreements became the main instruments in the hands of the U. S. imperialists for their daily deepening intervention in Viet Nam. The U. S. came gradually to take over the leadership of the war of aggression against our country; they spent a sum of no less than 2, 600 million dollars for the massacre of our compatriots. The U. S. imperialists spared no effort in their nurturing and training of Ngo Dinh Diem, their efficient henchman. At the beginning of 1950, they schemed to make Ngo Dinh Diem Premier in place of the pro-U. S. Nguyen Phan Long who had been overthrown by the French, but their scheme ended in failure. In 1952, once again, they demanded of the French that Ngo Dinh Diem be made Premier, but the French disagreed. Then, in July 1954, availing themselves of the state of utter confusion of the French following their heavy defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the U.S. imperialists finally succeeded in bringing Ngo Dinh Diem to south Viet Nam from the United States to form a puppet government. It is crystal clear that the destiny of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique is closely linked with the U. S. policy of aggression directed against our country, and that the traitorous activities of this clique are closely linked with the aggressive U.S. schemes.

During the Geneva Conference, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, resorted to all means to undermine the re-establishment of peace in Indo-China and the recognition by the various countries of the independence, sovereignty,

unity and territorial integrity of our country, but they failed. As they could not torpedo the Geneva Conference, they set themselves to oust the French thoroughly from south Viet Nam and manoeuvred together with the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to turn this part of our country into a colony of a new type and a military base of the U.S., undermining our people's cause of peaceful national reunification. For the last few years, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in the Ngo Dinh Diem clique have plunged south Viet Nam into untold suffering. They have hesitated at no act of savagery to repress and exploit our southern countrymen, arresting, jailing and massacring tens of thousands of patriots. They have barefacedly placed south Viet Nam within the "protection" area of the aggressive SEATO bloc, and made every effort to increase its military strength and prepare for a new aggressive war, with the aim of erasing the achievements of our people's revolution in the North, re-imposing colonial and feudal rule upon our whole country and sabotaging peace in Indo-China and South-east Asia. U.S. imperialism and its henchmen are the most dangerous and cruel enemies of our people throughout the country. Our compatriots, from North to South, nurse the deepest hatred for the aggressive U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Our entire people, the millions of Vietnamese as one, are determined to struggle to eliminate them from the cherished southern part of our country.

At present, as a result of the aggression against the South by the U.S. imperialists, Viet Nam is temporarily divided into two zones. The North, where the

tasks of the national people's democratic revolution have been completed, has entered the period of transition to socialism. The South is still under the rule of the imperialists and the feudal forces. This situation has given rise, in our country, to two zones with different political and social systems ; consequently, the Vietnamese revolution at the present stage has two tasks belonging to two different strategies. To guarantee the complete success of the revolutionary struggle of our people, we must understand thoroughly the nature of the revolutionary task in each zone, and at the same time grasp firmly the relation between the revolutionary tasks in the two zones, in the process of the development of the revolution.

After the completion of the two basic tasks of the national people's democratic revolution, it is evident that the North cannot stop there but must move forward. The forward direction of the revolution in the North must only be towards socialism, and not towards capitalism.

Capitalism means exploitation, oppression, want, famine and suffering. The working class and the labouring peasantry of Viet Nam, after driving out the imperialists and annihilating the feudal forces in the North, after seizing State power, naturally cannot follow the capitalist road, which is the road to suicide. Moreover, the present period is no longer the period of capitalism. Imperialism, the ultimate stage of development of capitalism is in a state of agony from which no force can save it. The present period is the period of triumphing of socialism. The revolution in north Viet Nam cannot follow the road of death, it must follow the road

of life, it must advance to socialism. In order to be able to follow the road of life, we must resolve the contradiction now prevailing in north Viet Nam society — the contradiction between the socialist path and the capitalist path.

The toiling people of north Viet Nam, under the leadership of the working class, must utilize the people's democratic State power to take the North toward socialism. That is the objective requirement of northern society in its course of development, and also the cherished aspiration of the working class and the toiling people in the North. Moreover, the taking of the North toward socialism is the pressing requirement not only of the course of revolutionary development in the North, but also of the revolutionary movement throughout the country. Only by taking north Viet Nam toward socialism can we consolidate and further develop the revolutionary victories already obtained, make the North strong and stable in every respect and create favourable conditions for the struggle to achieve national reunification. Socialist construction in the North and the rapid strengthening of the North in all fields, are an indispensable task of the revolution in the North and throughout our country.

The socialist revolution is carried out in the North while the South has to make every effort to achieve a broad national unity embracing all national and democratic forces, all forces opposed to the U.S. imperialists and Ngo Dinh Diem. In the work of building and consolidating the North, we must on the one hand keep firmly to the line of socialist construction and on the other, pay the greatest attention to the

situation in the South, help create further conditions for the rallying of all patriotic forces opposed to the U.S. — Diem regime in the South into a broad National United Front with the worker-peasant alliance as its basis, and ensure the victory of the revolutionary struggle in the South. Our guiding principle in carrying out the socialist revolution in the North is : to consolidate the North, and in so doing take the South into due consideration.

The South is at present under the domination of imperialism and feudalism. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, in committing aggression against the South and in establishing their dictatorial fascist power. aimed not only at sabotaging our people's cause of national reunification, but also at oppressing, exploiting, terrorizing, and massacring our people in the South, and at preparing an aggressive war. To defend their life and their closest interests, the people in the South have no other course than to overthrow the dictatorial fascist regime of the U.S. imperialists and Ngo Dinh Diem, completely liberating south Viet Nam, achieving national reunification and contributing to the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

To carry out the revolution for the liberation of the South means to solve the two basic contradictions now existing in the South : firstly, the contradiction between the people of the South and the aggressive imperialists, above all, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen ; secondly, that between the people of the South, especially the peasants, and the feudal landlordclass. Only by resolving these contradictions

can the people of the South be liberated from their present state of utter misery, and south Viet Nam society develop smoothly, to make together with north Viet Nam society a single entity.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in the South are striving for the consolidation of their dictatorial fascist regime and for military build-up, with a view to transforming south Viet Nam into a base for the unleashing of an aggressive war and the execution of their scheme of "March to the North". At the same time, they constantly carry out acts of sabotage to undermine our people's work of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North. In this situation, the struggle of our southern compatriots against the U.S. — Diem regime, not only has the effect of promoting the cause of liberation of the South, but it also contributes actively to the defence of socialist construction in the North.

The two revolutionary tasks in the North and in the South belong to two different strategies, each task is designed to meet the concrete requirements of each zone in the conditions of the division of our country into two zones. But these two tasks have an immediate common goal — the achievement of peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, the resolving of the contradiction common to the whole country, i.e, the contradiction between our people and the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. To solve this common contradiction is the responsibility of our people throughout the country, but in conditions in which each zone has its own strategic task, what must be the correct positions and responsibilities of the revolution in each zone?

Looking at the matter from an overall viewpoint, the North has become a common base of the revolution throughout the country, since it has completed the task of national democratic revolution, gained independence and established the people's democratic power. The more vigorously the North advances to socialism and the more its strength is enhanced in every respect, the more this benefits the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the South, the development of the revolution throughout the country and the preservation and consolidation of peace in Indo-China and the world.

The North is the common revolutionary base of the whole country, its constant growth in strength not only heightens the confidence and stimulates the revolutionary enthusiasm of our patriotic countrymen in the South, but also helps the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution on a national scale to move towards the side of revolution, creating favourable conditions for the powerful development and the final triumph of the revolution in the South.

Besides, since the North is the common revolutionary base of the whole country, the socialist revolution in the North aims not only at building a new life for the northern people, but also at laying the foundations of a new life, full of freedom and happiness, for our entire nation, and at preparing effectively the future development of the whole country.

At present, U.S. imperialism and its henchmen are actively preparing for the unleashing of a new aggressive war, in an attempt to conquer our country and to transform it into a spring-board for the struggle

against the socialist camp, undermining the national liberation movement in South-east Asia and world peace. The more solid and stable the North becomes, the more chance we have of frustrating the war-mongering and aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, of preserving and consolidating peace in Indo-China and the world, of lending active support to the national independence movement in South-east Asia and of contributing to the strengthening of the socialist camp.

In short, by actively taking the North towards socialism, we create conditions for the revolution in the South to develop vigorously and to win victory, for the revolution throughout the country to advance, for the full deployment of the strength of the Vietnamese revolution itself combined with the strength of the whole socialist camp and that of the movement for peace and national independence, with a view to isolating and finally vanquishing the most cruel and dangerous enemy of our people, the U.S. imperialists, to achieving national reunification and building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam. It is clear that the task of socialist revolution in the North is the most decisive task for the development of the whole revolution in our country, for our people's cause of national reunification.

In defining the positions and responsibilities of the revolution in the North, as being those of firmly grasping the duty of maintaining peace, building socialism, and promoting the revolution in the South means at the same time to define clearly the position

and responsibilities of the revolution in the South as being those of having the direct duty of overthrowing the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and of liberating the South, thus completing the tasks of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country. That is the only correct line for the achievement of peaceful national reunification. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are the sworn enemies of our people, they do not want our country to be reunified in peace. That, indeed, is the reason why they are endeavouring to turn south Viet Nam into a colony of a new type and a military base of the U.S., by all means to undermine the Geneva Agreements, refusing to hold a consultative conference with our Government and to re-establish normal relations between the two zones. Only by overthrowing their rule in the South can we have conditions for the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland.

On the other hand, to secure conditions of peace in the North to help the building of socialism, to safeguard peace in Indo-China and the world, the South must struggle resolutely against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, defeat their aggressive and war-mongering policy and put an end to their cruel domination. There is no other way but this one.

The South must play a direct role in executing the task of liberating the South from the domination of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, and has the capacity to fulfil this splendid task. For our southern compatriots have risen up to seize power from the hands of the Japanese fascists ; they have heroically waged the resistance struggle against the French

colonialists and American interventionists. For the revolution in the South is carried out in conditions of the continuous weakening and isolation of the U.S. imperialists and of the vigorous development of the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy in the world. It is true that the U.S. imperialists are most inhuman and bellicose, but the moment that the revolutionary forces of the masses of the oppressed stand up resolutely to overthrow them, their barbarous rule faces inevitable destruction. The rich experiences of the national liberation movement in the world over the past few years have clearly testified to this fact.

In the present revolutionary movement in our country, the revolution in the South occupies a very important position. It has a direct, decisive effect upon the cause of liberation of the South from the yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, for the achievement of peaceful reunification of our country, and for the completion of the tasks of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

The socialist revolution in the North and the national people's democratic revolution in the South belong to two different strategies, but since they have an immediate common goal — the achievement of national reunification — they are closely connected, and influence and encourage one another in their simultaneous progress. We must understand clearly that the task of socialist revolution in the North is the most decisive task for the development of the whole revolution in our country and for the cause of

national reunification, and at the same time understand clearly the direct, decisive effect of the revolution in the South upon the liberation of the South and the achievement of peaceful national reunification. Only in this way can we get an all-sided conception of the content and obligations of the revolution in our country at the present stage; only in this way can we establish the correct policy, guiding principles, plans and measures for the successful building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

The revolutionary task of our people at the present stage is : to enhance the solidarity of the entire people, to struggle resolutely for the maintenance of peace, to promote the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time the national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, and to contribute effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in South-east Asia and in the world.

In the execution of the above-mentioned revolutionary task, our Party bears a very heavy responsibility. Unconditionally loyal to the interests of the class and the nation, our Party will continue its endeavours to unite, organize and lead our people in their self-sacrificing struggle, overcoming all difficulties and fulfilling in a worthy manner this glorious revolutionary task.

II

STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION AND COMPLETION OF THE TASKS OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Comrades,

At present, our beloved South has been turned into a colony of a new type and a military base of the U.S. imperialists, our southern compatriots are living a wretched life under the barbarous rule of the U.S. and Diem, and our Fatherland has consequently not been reunified. That is the source of our nation's greatest suffering and deepest wrath. That also is the daily preoccupation of our people throughout the country. So long as south Viet Nam is not yet liberated, our Fatherland not yet reunified, and the Vietnamese nation not yet re-united, there can be no peace in the minds of our people.

For the last six years, in spite of the efforts of the U.S. imperialists to make up the face of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime and to clothe it in a cloak of faked independence and democracy, no one has been duped ; it has been impossible for them to hide the glaring truth : the South has become a U.S. colony and base for aggression in South-east Asia, and the Ngo Dinh Diem administration is an underling of the U.S. imperialists, betraying the interests of the nation. The U. S. imperialists

have not established their administrative machinery and have no army of occupation in south Viet Nam ; however, through their policy of military and economic aid and their system of advisors and control bodies, they have sway over south Viet Nam in all respects. Politically, the whole State machinery in the South, is entirely in U.S. hands ; all " State policies " of this administration are decided by the U.S.. Militarily, the U.S. is directly building, training and equipping the south Viet Nam Army and through the system of their military mission M.A.A.G., it has the command of this army directly in hand. Economically, the South has been transformed into a dumping ground for the surplus goods of the U.S. and the countries of the U.S. camp ; all major economic resources in the South have gradually fallen into U.S. hands, or are controlled by the U.S.. From the cultural viewpoint, the U.S. has brought into south Viet Nam the most depraved American way of life, and spread the poison of American culture among the youth and the people at large.

Under the command and with the help of the U.S., the Ngo Dinh Diem clique have set up a cynically dictatorial and warlike administration in south Viet Nam. The mainstays of this administration are the most reactionary pro-American elements in the landlord class and among the bourgeois compradors, as well as rogues and blackguards, capitulators and traitors. This administration has the character of a " family regime ". The Ngo family and its agents share and control key positions in the State machinery, thus controlling at will all branches and levels ; those who do not side with

them are one after another the victims of dismissal or persecution.

Over the last few years, the policy of the U.S. and Diem in the South has been actively to undertake military reinforcement and war preparation and to try by all means to destroy the revolutionary movement of the southern people. This policy is a part of the overall policy of the U.S. in the South, that is, to use south Viet Nam as a spring-board for the unleashing of a new war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the socialist camp, and to undermine the national liberation movement and peace in South-east Asia and the world.

To put this scheme into practice, the U.S. and Diem are striving to increase their armed forces. At present, south Viet Nam's permanent troops are up to more than 250,000 men, including 150,000 of the regular army, 45,000 armed police and 60,000 security guards ; moreover there are approximately 100,000 militiamen. If we add to this the 115,000 men already registered as having undergone military training, we see that the U.S. and Diem can if necessary mobilize 470,000 men.

To equip this force, the U.S. is without let-up introducing arms and ammunition into south Viet Nam. The numbers of officers and personnel of the U.S. military mission M.A.A.G. which comprises all branches of the Army, have never ceased to rise. The overall strength of M.A.A.G. has increased tenfold compared with 1954, and the number of senior officers has increased fourteenfold.

U.S. 'military aid' and 'aid' in weapons, is also daily on the increase. It accounts for 80 per cent of the military budget of the South; in 1960 alone, U.S. 'aid' in weapons to the South was twice as large as in 1959.

Air, naval and logistics bases of the U.S. are growing in number in south Viet Nam. The system of strategic communication ways is being actively built and expanded by the U.S. To serve the building of military bases, the U.S. and Diem have resorted to terrorist measures in order to force the population of many localities to leave their homes and join labour gangs in concentration camps called by them 'agricultural settlements'. At present, they have set up hundreds of 'agricultural settlements' where hundreds of thousands of people have been concentrated; these 'agricultural settlements' are scattered in the strategically important areas, such as the Tay Nguyen Highlands, and along the Viet Nam - Cambodia and Viet Nam - Laos borders, etc.

The U.S. imperialists consider south Viet Nam as one of their important bridge-heads in South-east Asia. That is why they have barefacedly placed the South within the 'protection area' of the aggressive SEATO bloc, and made arrangements for it to take part in many military conferences and manoeuvres of that bloc. The member countries of this bloc have continuously sent officers and warships to the South. At present south Viet Nam has actually become a de facto member of the aggressive SEATO bloc headed by the U. S.

The policy of aggression and enslavement of the U.S. and the traitorous activities of the Ngo Dinh Diem

clique are coming up against a daily firmer opposition from the masses of our people in the South. This has led them to devise innumerable tricks in an attempt to destroy the patriotic movement of our southern compatriots. They are striving to put into effect an extremely savage policy of terror, determined as they are to drown the south Vietnamese revolution in blood. Already in 1954, they staged bloody massacres at Chi Thanh, Ngan Son, Cho Duoc, Kim Doi, Mo Cay, Cu Chi, Binh Thanh, etc. Then, they launched many highly atrocious 'denounce communists' campaigns in countryside and town, announcing these campaigns as their 'state policy', with the aim of annihilating the patriotic forces in the South. For the last few years, together with the 'denounce communists' campaigns, they have ceaselessly been waging terrorist raids, arresting, jailing, and killing patriotic people. Under the U. S. - Diem regime, in the South, no day passed without gunfire and massacre of patriotic people by the U. S. and Diem. Over the past years, they have intensified their terror to the highest extent in an attempt to disguise their grave failures and to contain the powerful upsurge of the south Vietnamese revolution. They cynically proclaimed a 'state of war' in the South and mobilized entire divisions of their regular army to combine forces with the security guards, militia, commandos, intelligence units, etc. supported by air forces and cannons, for the launching of terrorist raids which covered extensive areas and lasted several days. Such raids were launched throughout south Viet Nam, especially in the former resistance bases in East and West Nam Bo, in the West of Interzone V and in the

Tri Thien region. In the course of these operations, they razed houses, burnt down granaries, violated women, and tortured and massacred the population in the most barbarous manner. According to incomplete figures, up to now, more than 200,000 people have been arrested and jailed, and more than 15,000 killed and wounded in the course of the raids.

Such inhuman raids, as well as the massacre of thousands of political prisoners in the Phu Loi concentration camp, the cynical implementation of the fascist law 10/59 and the carrying of the guillotine everywhere in the South with the aim of persecuting patriotic elements and cowing the people, etc., have fully exposed the loathsome bloodthirsty character of the U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem to the eyes of the people throughout the country and the world over. This savagery is only proof that the U. S. and Ngo Dinh Diem have experienced bitter political failure and are in a state of growing isolation.

In order to prepare their aggressive war and destroy the revolutionary movement in the South, the U.S. — Diem are also striving to pauperize the people. The yoke of their exploitation is weighing more and more heavily upon the shoulders of the Southern people.

In the cities, unemployment grows daily among the workers and the other strata of the toiling people. According to tentative estimates appearing in the south Viet Nam press, unemployment figures at the end of 1959 reached 1,500,000 people, that is to say, one out of eight persons in south Viet Nam is without regular employment. Those workers who have a job

find themselves in an increasingly difficult situation, since working hours are lengthened and living costs are high, but their wages show no increase. Moreover the workers and the toiling people in the cities have to shoulder the burden of payment of the innumerable taxes, collections, fines, etc. , imposed by the south Viet Nam administration. The U. S. and Diem cynically burn down their houses or carry out forcible evacuation of residential quarters, making the life of the toiling people in the South more and more wretched. Harassed and driven into a corner by the U. S. and Diem in all respects, the national bourgeois in the South are more and more facing losses in their undertakings, a number of which have gone bankrupt, while those remaining are stagnating.

In the countryside, the U. S. - Diem have put into effect a fake 'land reform' with a view to stealing back the land obtained by the peasants during the Resistance ; they have raised land rents and taxes, drafted manpower for hard labour, waged terrorist raids and sown destruction all around, thus making the life of the peasants extremely miserable. They have resorted to political measures of coercion and economic measures of encirclement to compel the peasants and the handicraftsmen to participate in organizations called by them 'co-operatives', in which the latter are robbed of their money and labour power, their belongings are bought at derisory prices while they have to pay high prices for everything, and their agricultural products are plundered. The U. S. and Diem have also set up a 'rural credit' institution to give loans to the peasants at cut-throat rates, so as to reduce them

gradually to poverty and to rob them both of their houses and their rice-fields.

As a result of its dependence upon the U. S. economy, and of the extremely predatory policy of exploitation practised by the U. S. and Diem in relation to the people, the economy of the South is in a state of serious decline. For the last few years, despite favourable natural conditions, agriculture in the South has declined continuously in all three respects : area, output and productivity. Due to the flooding of the south Viet Nam market by consumer goods from the U.S. and the U.S. camp, due to harsh and unfair competition from U. S.—Diem companies, south Viet Nam industry and handicrafts are in a cul-de-sac. Cotton-weaving and sugar-refining, the two main branches of south Viet Nam industry, are going downhill. In 1959, out of the 21,422 looms in cotton-weaving in the South, 5,000 stopped functioning. Sugar output is only one-third of the pre-war figure ; what is produced finds no outlet and must be sold at a losing price. The numbers of industrial enterprises and handicraft establishments which are stagnating and are forced to restrict production or which have had to close down for good, grow daily. As a result of the decline in production, the foreign trade deficit of the South is more serious year after year.

In the U. S. - Diem schemes of destruction of the revolutionary movement in the South, of military reinforcement and war preparation, their plan of setting up 'prosperity zones' plays a very important part. In execution of this plan, the U.S.-Diem are deploying every effort to destroy the villages and concentrate

the population of former resistance bases and of strategically important regions, and to build there concentration camps which bear the ironic name of 'prosperity zones'. The evil scheme of the U. S. - Diem is to place the people within range of their strict control, to intensify political repression, economic plunder and exploitation and ideological obfuscation, so as to make the people's life more and more wretched, thereby driving them into total dependence on their policy of servitude and of war preparation. That is why this scheme is being energetically opposed by our southern compatriots.

Over the last few years, the U. S. - Diem have constantly undermined our people's cause of peaceful national reunification. They have obstinately refused the proposals, conforming to both sense and sentiment, made by our Government and aimed at the re-establishment of normal relations between the two zones, the organization of a consultative conference and of the general elections to reunify the Fatherland. They have continually shouted slogans of 'March to the North', and actively prepared an aggressive war against the North. They have increased their activities of sabotage of the peaceful labour of the people in the North. However, faced with the strong opposition of the southern people and the people throughout Viet Nam and with the firm will of our entire people to reunify the country, the U.S. and Diem have of late been forced to speak about 'reunification'. They have set up a so-called 'Committee for territorial reunification and national liberation', in an attempt to deceive public opinion and to increase their activities aiming at

undermining our people's cause of national reunification : such a situation provides all the more proof of the shameful failure and the isolation of the U.S. and Diem.

The colonial and semi-feudal power of the U.S. and Diem has made the life of our Southern compatriots more and more miserable ; it has spread confusion and stagnation in south Viet Nam society, frustrating its development and progress. The further the U.S. and Diem go on their road of military reinforcement, terror and massacre, oppression and exploitation, with the aim of preparing a new war, the more acute will become the contradiction between the people of the South, including the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and other patriotic strata and individuals on the one side, and the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique representing the most reactionary pro-American elements of the landlord class and among the bourgeois compradors in the South on the other, and the more violent will be the struggle between the two sides.

The U. S. - Diem scheme to break the people's revolutionary will and to stifle the revolutionary movement in the South. But they will never succeed in subduing the ardent patriotism and the traditional indomitable spirit of our southern compatriots. For the last six years, through subjected to extremely cruel terror, the revolutionary movement in the South has been firmly maintained and developed. Our Southern compatriots stood up in the general uprising to seize power from the hands of the Japanese fascists ; they took up arms and waged an heroic resistance struggle for nine years against the French colonialists and the

American interventionists; obviously, they will not wait with folded arms for the U.S. - Diem to kill, oppress and exploit them. They have already united and are fighting resolutely against the dictatorial fascist regime of the U.S. - Diem, to preserve their right to life and their freedom.

Since the re-establishment of peace, the workers in south Viet Nam have continually waged struggles against sackings, for a solution to the problem of unemployment, for wage increases, the improvement of working conditions, against penalties, for the building of an independent economy and the development of national production, democratic freedoms and the peaceful reunification of the country. By the end of 1959, there were in all 1,444 workers' struggles including 27 major ones, especially the huge demonstration of the workers and toiling people in Saigon on the occasion of May Day 1958, in which 500,000 people participated. In this demonstration, apart from slogans demanding rights for the workers, there were slogans demanding rights for other strata of the people, for instance, demanding land for the peasants and wage increases for the army men. This big demonstration further raised the prestige of the working class among the various sections of the people in the South and contributed actively to the bringing into being of a broad united front of the various classes of the people against the U. S. and Diem. At present, despite intensive activities of sabotage on the part of 'yellow' trade unions cadres working under the orders of the U. S. and Diem, the workers' movement in the South is continuing to develop.

In the countryside, large masses of the peasantry have been fighting perseveringly against the U. S. and Diem who schemed to rob them of their lands through the 'land reform', against the raising of land rents, for the reduction of taxes, against 'denounce communists' campaigns and terror, the forcible recruitment of soldiers, the drafting of manpower into labour gangs for the building of military bases and into 'agricultural settlements', the concentration of people and the establishment of 'prosperity zones'. For instance in West Nam Bo in the first six months of 1959, there were more than 3,000 struggles on land matters, including many demonstrations in which from 500 to 700 people took part and the result of which was the successful retention in the hands of the peasants of hundreds of thousands of hectares of land. In certain places the peasants are now the full owners of a part of this land without having to pay any land rent or tax. In many localities, during the movement of struggle against 'denounce communists' campaigns, the masses surrounded the 'denounce communists' groups of the U.S. and Diem, obstructing the passage of their vehicles, denouncing the crimes committed by the U. S. and Diem and demanding the release of those arrested; some demonstrations involved four or five thousand people fighting bitterly with the enemy.

In the highlands, compatriots of the national minorities constantly used many forms of struggle against taxes, terrorist raids, plunder, and concentration of the population. This movement has caused the U. S. and Diem much difficulty and embarrassment. Towards the end of September 1958, in the townships

of Ban Me Thuot and Plei Ku, there broke out a broad movement for autonomy, involving thousands of people.

Our evacuee compatriots, including our Catholic compatriots, have waged big struggles against the forcible transfer of people into ' agricultural settlements ', for the solution of the problem of employment, and against arbitrary tax increases. Large masses of Hoa Hao and Cao Dai followers have also taken an active part in struggle against the U. S. and Diem.

The national bourgeoisie has united with the various sections of city people in the struggle against economic monopolization by the U. S. imperialists and their agents, which is causing the bankruptcy of south Viet Nam's industry and commerce ; they are demanding protection and encouragement of home products and restriction of imports from imperialist countries. The intelligentsia and student youth have united in opposition to decadent U. S. culture, and are demanding that teaching be done in the Vietnamese language in higher educational institutions, and the preservation and development of the national culture.

In response to the December 22, 1958 Note of our Government compatriots belonging to different classes and strata sent thousands of letters to the press, publicly discussing the problem of national reunification ; they clearly voiced their aspiration for the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, and strongly condemned the U. S. - Diem policy of partition and servitude. From the beginning of 1959 to the present, an ever growing number of personalities, including some in ruling circles in south Viet Nam, have raised their voices to demand peaceful national reunification.

At present, the struggle of the people in the South has attained such a level that U. S. - Diem authorities at the village level are shaking in their shoes ; in some places, administrative organs have disintegrated. In many units of the security guards and of the regular army, and even in a number of military schools, the number of desertions has grown considerably ; some units have refused to engage in terrorist raids. Some of the ' prosperity zones ' have been completely disrupted and the U. S. - Diem policy of razing villages and concentrating the population is encountering violent resistance on the part of our southern compatriots.

Recently, on the occasion of the ' July 20th ' anniversary, a very widespread mass struggle broke out everywhere in south Viet Nam. Hundreds of thousands of our compatriots there participated in meetings, demonstrations, strikes and market closures, etc. in opposition to terrorism and massacres, the herding of the population for the establishment of ' prosperity zones ', the drafting of manpower, the forcible recruitment into the army, the plundering of land, the forcible evacuation of residential quarters, and the dictatorial fascist regime of the U. S. - Diem clique. They demanded the withdrawal of the U. S. imperialists from south Viet Nam, and the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements by the south Viet Nam administration so as to peacefully reunify the country.

In Central Nam Bo alone, there were thousands of meetings and demonstrations with an attendance of more than 600,000. Some of these demonstrations drew as many as 7,000 participants, lasted from 3 to 7 hours.

and the demonstrators marched over a distance of 15 km.

These struggles are clear evidence of the strong revolutionary spirit of our compatriots in the South.

On behalf of the whole Party, our Congress warmly hails the heroic revolutionary spirit of our southern compatriots and wishes them still more and greater successes !

The revolutionary struggle of our people in the South is the continuation of the Cochinchina and Ba To insurrections of the August general uprising and the long war of resistance in the new historical conditions. In the course of the present struggle, the balance of forces between the U. S. - Diem clique and the revolutionary people of the South headed by the working class is gradually changing in favour of the revolution.

The fundamental task of the revolution in the South is to liberate this part of the country from imperialist and feudal domination, to achieve national independence, to put into effect the slogan ' Land to the Tillers ', and to contribute to the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

The immediate task of the revolution in the South is to achieve the unity of the whole people, to fight resolutely against the aggressive and war-mongering U. S. imperialists in order to overthrow their lackeys — the oppressive and dictatorial Ngo Dinh Diem clique — and to form a national democratic coalition government in south Viet Nam to win national independence and establish democratic freedoms, to improve the

people's living conditions, to preserve peace, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy and to make an active contribution to the defence of peace in South-east Asia and the world.

The process of development of the revolution in the South is one of rallying, organizing and developing the anti-U.S. - Diem forces in order to shatter their scheme of war preparation, to maintain and consolidate peace ; to oppose the dictatorial fascist U. S. - Diem policy and their policy of pauperization of the people, to demand democratic freedoms and improvement of the living conditions of the people ; to oppose the yoke of servitude and the schemes to partition our country, to win national independence and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. It is also a process of combining the immediate goals with the long-range goals of the revolution, with a view to liberating the South from the domination of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, achieving national reunification, and completing the tasks of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

The revolutionary struggle of our people in the South enjoys these favourable fundamental conditions : our people have liberated the North and are energetically taking it to socialism ; our southern compatriots are ardently patriotic, they have a high level of political consciousness and long traditions of heroic revolutionary struggle ; the world socialist camp is already stronger than the imperialist camp and this superiority is increasing with every passing day ; the movement for national liberation all over the world is

growing powerfully ; the forces of peace are carrying the day over the forces of war. But our patriotic countrymen in the South are still encountering many difficulties. The U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique resort to all perfidious and inhuman measures to frantically undermine our people's cause of national liberation. Therefore, the revolutionary struggle of our people in the South will still be long and arduous. Its development cannot be a simple process ; it is a complex process, combining many forms of struggle of great liveliness and flexibility, ranging from lower to higher, from legal to illegal, and taking as its starting point the building, consolidation and development of the revolutionary power of the masses. During this process, we must continually enhance our work of rallying, organizing and educating the people in the South, first and foremost the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals, promoting to the highest degree the fighting revolutionary spirit of the various sections of our patriotic countrymen. We must unceasingly expose the criminal schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, with a view to further dividing and isolating them, and winning over all forces that can be won over. We must base ourselves on the development of the great revolutionary power of the masses and on the firm solidarity with the peace-loving people in the world, to struggle perseveringly for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements.

To ensure the complete success for the revolutionary struggle in south Viet Nam, our people there, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party

of the working class, must strive to establish a united bloc of workers, peasants and soldiers, and to bring into being a broad National United Front directed against the U.S. and Diem and based upon the worker-peasant alliance. This front must rally all the patriotic classes and sections of the people, the majority and the minority nationalities, all patriotic parties and religious groupings, together with all individuals inclined to oppose the U.S. - Diem. The aims of the struggle of the National United Front against the U.S. and Diem in the South are peace, national independence, democratic freedoms, improvement of the living conditions of the people and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. The Front must carry out its work in a very flexible manner, in order to rally all forces that can be rallied, win over all forces that can be won over, neutralize all forces that should be neutralized and draw the broad masses into the general struggle against the U.S.-Diem.

The revolutionary movement in the South occupies a very important place in the execution of the task of national reunification. Together with their efforts to build and consolidate the North and to take it towards socialism, our people must strive to preserve and develop the revolutionary forces in the South, thus creating favourable conditions for the peaceful reunification of our country. We have firm confidence in the victory of our people and in the certain triumph of our policy of peaceful reunification of our Fatherland.

The struggle for national reunification is a process of arduous, long, difficult and complex revolutionary struggle against the U.S. imperialists and

their henchmen in the South. In this struggle, we must rely firmly upon the great strength of the unity of the people throughout the country, and constantly direct the point of our attack against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen — the most dangerous and cruel enemies of our people at present. The struggle of our people for national reunification is a righteous one. U.S. imperialism, the sworn enemy of our people, is also the sworn enemy of the peace-loving people all over the world. Therefore, we enjoy the daily growing support of the broad masses of the people in the world, the strength of our people increases day after day, while the forces of our enemy are declining. In the course of our struggle, it is possible that different forms of gradual national reunification may present themselves. We will sincerely unite with all forces opposed to the U. S. and Diem and approving national reunification, to struggle perseveringly together with those forces for the implementation of every step of gradual reunification, however short that step may be. We respect and are prepared to abide by the principles governing national reunification which were formulated in the Programme of the Fatherland Front, and which conform to both sense and sentiment. These principles are : discussion and agreement between the two zones, no coercion from, and no annexation by, whatever side. We are determined to keep firmly to the policy of peaceful national reunification, because it accords with the aspirations and interests of the people throughout our country and of peace-loving people all over the world. Our people and our Government have striven and will still strive to create favourable conditions and

opportunities to advance towards national reunification by peaceful means. But if the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in the South venture to unleash a war of aggression against the North, running counter to the aspirations and interests of our people and the world's people, then our entire nation, North and South with one heart, enjoying the sympathy and support of the people of the world, will stand up to defeat them.

Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one. Our country will certainly be reunified on the basis of independence and democracy, our people will certainly re-unite in peace, freedom and happiness. Rivers can run dry, mountains wear away, but the will of our whole people to reunify our Fatherland will not falter and we will finally be victorious.

III

LINE FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM

Comrades,

With the re-establishment of peace, the northern part of our country entered the stage of transition to socialism. The task of the working people and of our Party in this period is to use the people's democratic State power to fulfil the historic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship in order to achieve the socialist

revolution with the aim of building socialism in the North. Socialist revolution is the most radical and profound revolution in the history of mankind. It removes private ownership of the means of production, exploitation and exploiting classes, brings into being public ownership of the means of production, opens the way for the productive forces to progress from a level of backwardness to a level of modernity, thereby developing production to the highest degree and liberating the toiling people forever from poverty. It is a radical revolution not only in economy and politics, but also in ideology, culture and technique. To secure victory for this momentous cause, we must firmly grasp the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning socialist revolution, learn from the precious experiences gained by our brother countries, and skilfully apply these principles and experiences to the concrete conditions of our country, seeking out such forms, methods, steps and rhythms as are suitable to the particularities of our country.

What particularities will we start from in postulating and resolving the problem of socialist revolution in the North ?

How will we carry out socialist transformation, achieve socialist industrialization and make the socialist revolution in ideological, cultural and technical fields to suit the particularities of the North ?

The content of the policy for socialist revolution in the North aims precisely at solving these problems.

On entering the period of transition to socialism, the North of our country had the following characteristics :

a) It was a region with a backward agricultural economy, mainly based on individual small production; the economic basis of capitalism was extremely poorly-developed and weak; industry was undeveloped, agriculture and handicrafts, which had a scattered character, were the predominant forms of economic activity. The per capita average land holding was only three north Viet Nam 'sao', i.e., roughly one-tenth of a hectare, and there was a great amount of unused labour power in the overcrowded plains. The people's cultural standard was low; the technical resources left behind by the old regime were negligible, especially as regards technical cadres and skilled workers; moreover, the economy of the North had suffered great damage during 15 years of war, labour productivity was low, and in many respects the people lived in want. Naturally this situation creates many difficulties for the North in its advance towards socialism, but at the same time, it demands that the North rapidly advance towards socialism, making energetic use of its essential favourable conditions for the overcoming of these difficulties. These favourable conditions are: the exclusive leadership of the Party, the firm worker-peasant alliance, the strong people's democratic State power, the great potentialities of our tropical agriculture, our rich natural resources, and our people, tempered through long years of revolutionary struggle and inured to hard and patient work.

b) The North is advancing toward socialism at a time when the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has become a world system and is stronger than the imperialist camp; and when relations of

co-operation and international division of labour in the socialist camp have been established and developed. This is a fundamental favourable condition for socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North, ensuring that the North may by-pass the stage capitalist development and advance directly towards socialism. At the same time, the North of our country must contribute actively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the safeguarding and consolidation of world peace.

c) The socialist revolution in the North is taking place in circumstances in which our country is divided into two zones. The American imperialists have transformed the South into a colony and are actively using the South as a base for the sabotage of the building of socialism in the North and the preparation of a war of aggression. The socialist revolution in the North therefore must be taken forward strongly in order to rapidly bring a new life to the people in the North, in order that the North may bring into full play its superiority over the South, and at the same time be transformed into an ever stronger base for the whole of our people in their struggle for the achievement of national reunification and for the promotion of the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

From the above-mentioned characteristics, we can clearly see that following the achievement of the tasks of the national people's democratic revolution, the North of our country must immediately enter upon the socialist revolution, and that it possesses the

required conditions to skip the period of capitalist development and advance directly to socialism. Socialist revolution in the North must be a process of revolutionary transformation in all fields aimed at taking the North from an economy fundamentally based on individual ownership of the means of production to a socialist economy based on ownership by the whole people and on collective ownership ; from a system of small production to a system of large-scale socialist production ; from a scattered and backward economy to a balanced and modern economy, enabling the North to make rapid progress and to become an ever firmer base for the struggle for national reunification.

The above-mentioned process of revolutionary transformation is one of achieving socialist transformation and socialist construction, and one of arduous and complex struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path in the political, ideological, economic, cultural and technical fields. Socialist transformation aims at transforming non-socialist relations of production into socialist relations of production the key to which is the transformation of the systems of individual and capitalist ownership of the means of production into diverse forms of socialist ownership thus opening the way for the development of the productive forces. Socialist construction aims at developing the already liberated forces of production, laying the material and technical foundations of socialism, gradually abolishing the state of backwardness, and transforming the system of small production into a system of large-scale socialist production based

on modern technique. Socialist transformation and socialist construction are the two aspects of the socialist revolution ; these two aspects are related to each other ; they have mutual influence and each stimulates the development of the other. Socialist transformation creates favourable conditions for the speedy development and modernization of the forces of production and promotes socialist construction, which in its turn helps to consolidate and continuously develop the new relations of production brought into being by socialist transformation. In view of the concrete situation in the North of our country, in the first period of the socialist revolution, we take socialist transformation as the central task, while taking the first step in socialist construction ; when socialist transformation has secured a victory of a decisive character, we will have to switch over to socialist construction as the central task, undertaking socialist industrialization, and simultaneously completing socialist transformation. Only in this way can the North of our country rapidly achieve a balanced and modern socialist economy and speedily attain to a system of large-scale socialist mechanized production.

The process of revolutionary transformation to lead the North to socialism is a process of combining economic transformation and construction with cultural transformation and construction. The socialist revolution in the field of culture must have a material base created by the economic revolution, if it is to develop vigorously and steadily. However, it is not indispensable for our country to wait for the completion of the economic revolution to begin the cultural

revolution. For years in the past, as a result of the policy of obscurantism used by the colonialists and their feudal lackeys, our people were kept in a state of utter backwardness and ignorance ; the cultural level and the technical knowledge of our people are very inadequate ; this constitutes a considerable obstacle to the transformation and construction of our economy along socialist lines. However the objective conditions in our country demand that the economic revolution be accelerated, and this revolution makes ever growing demands, in the fields of culture and technique. Therefore if speedy success is to be assured for economic transformation and construction, if the old, backward economic system is to be rapidly transformed into a system of large-scale mechanized socialist production, we must launch and spur forward the socialist revolution in culture and technique, closely link this revolution with the revolution in economy, causing it to meet in good time the demands of the economic revolution.

The aim of socialism is constantly to raise the material and cultural standards of the toiling people. To reach this goal, we must strive to develop production and to accumulate constantly the capital necessary to the development of production. That is why in the socialist revolution in the North, we must ensure the accumulation of capital for economic development and the promotion of socialist production. If no attention is paid to the accumulation of capital, or if the accumulation of capital is below the mark, there can be no speedy socialist construction, and the basic conditions cannot be created for the continuous raising

of the people's living standards. On the basis of guaranteeing accumulation of capital required by the development of production, we must devote the greatest care to the improvement of the people's living standards. For the last few years, keeping pace with the development of production, the living standards of the toiling people in the North have clearly been improved as compared with the past. But they are far from living in comfort, their health and working capacity are still inadequate. The improvement of the life of the people aims precisely at the constant enhancement of their health and working capacity, leading to the constant increase of production. Moreover, the improvement of the life of the people in the present conditions of our country has an important political significance : it embodies the superiority of the socialist system in the North over the U. S. - Diem regime in the South ; it acts as a strong encouragement to the people in the South and impels forward the struggle of the people throughout the country for national reunification.

To ensure the success of socialist construction in the North, we must correctly solve the problem of the relationship between the accumulation of capital and the improvement of living standards. We maintain that there must be an appropriate relationship between accumulation and consumption, that is to say, a relationship conforming to both the economic and political requirements of each period, guaranteeing both the development of socialist economy in the North at a high rhythm and the constant improvement of the life of the people in keeping with the development of

production. At the same time, we must encourage everyone to develop a spirit of diligence and thrift in national construction. Our country is still poor because our productive capacity is still low. On the one hand, we must constantly accumulate capital to meet the requirements of economic development ; on the other, we must practise the most stringent economy and know how to utilize accumulated capital, securing maximum results with minimum expenditure. With this aim, we must strive to improve our economic management and technique, to rationalize production, and constantly increase labour productivity.

To ensure the firm protection of the North in its socialist construction, and to frustrate and undo in time all schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, we have also to determine a correct relationship between economic construction and national defence. In the course of socialist transformation and socialist construction, along with economic and cultural development, we must pay attention to the consolidation of national defence, build up strong people's armed forces and combine economic construction with the consolidation of national defence. In economic construction we must thoroughly grasp the need to serve national defence, just as in strengthening national defence, we must skilfully make such arrangements as dovetail with economic construction.

With the formation of the world socialist camp, the economy of each country in the camp becomes an integral part of the world socialist economic system. Applying the principles of socialist international division of labour and co-operation, each country can

rely on the great economic strength of the whole socialist camp in building and developing its own economy and can co-ordinate its long-term national economic plans with those of other countries in an appropriate manner ; by so doing it can achieve constantly higher rhythms of economic and cultural development. With regard to our country, a backward agricultural country advancing to socialism without passing through a period of capitalist development, the assistance of the socialist camp is a necessary and very important factor. We must fully grasp the great importance of this assistance in order that we may plan the proper use of it, with a view to quickly eliminating our economic lag. But we must not passively count on this assistance, we must on the contrary cultivate to the utmost the spirit of self-reliance. Economic co-operation between socialist countries is mutual assistance in the building of socialism and communism. Each country has an economy with its own particular resources, and experiences acquired in the course of its economic development. Thanks to international co-operation, the different countries can supply to one another and exchange their raw materials, equipment and machines, and help each other by sharing their advanced experience in production ; each country should play an active part in this international co-operation, in order to ensure the powerful development of socialist and communist construction, which is common to all of them. Our economy is less developed than those of the fraternal socialist countries ; we must ask for aid from the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries in capital,

equipment, technique, experts and training of cadres, but we must also create conditions for the development of our possibilities with a view to helping the brother countries in ways appropriate to their needs. Therefore, we must strive to cultivate the spirit of self-reliance and to make proper use of the aid of brother countries in the building of our economy into an independent and comparatively comprehensive economy, serving as a basis for the independence of the nation and playing an active part in the co-operation with brother countries.

Comrades,

Socialist transformation is a fundamental task of the socialist revolution in the North of our country. We must have correct guiding principles and policies and must pass through a relatively long period before we have completed the task of socialist transformation in a satisfactory manner. Tendencies to overlook the tasks of socialist transformation, not to grasp their great importance, their complexity and duration, are all incorrect.

In the economy of the North, agriculture occupies a very important place ; the toiling peasantry is a great productive force. To lead the North to socialism, we must start from agriculture, rely firmly upon the strength of the toiling peasantry and develop their revolutionary activity. Therefore, the transformation of agriculture is the main link in the whole chain of socialist transformation. We are following the path of

agricultural co operation, combining the transformation of the relations of production with the improvement of technique and ideological education, proceeding from work-exchange teams to producers' co-operatives of elementary type and advanced type, from small-scale co-operatives to big-scale co-operatives and at the same time, developing supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives, in order to transform the individual peasants into collective peasants, the system of individual production into a collective system, to develop agricultural production and to bring a new countryside into being.

To ensure the favourable development of the movement for agricultural co-operation, we must grasp firmly the class line of the Party in the countryside. Agricultural co-operation is a revolutionary movement aimed at transforming private ownership of the means of production in agriculture into socialist collective ownership. It is an arduous and complex struggle ; that is why in order to lead the movement to complete success, the Party must have a firm mainstay in the countryside. This mainstay must necessarily be the poor peasants and the lower middle peasants — people possessing the fewest means of production, and the most eager and determined to follow the socialist path. At the same time, we must attach great importance to consolidating and strengthening unity with the middle peasants, perseveringly convincing them by propaganda, education, and by the actual activities of the co-operatives, never compelling them to participate in the co-operatives, but always knowing how to wait for them to make up their minds.

As regards the harmful ideas and activities of the middle peasants, especially of the upper middle peasants, we must severely criticize them, but in an appropriate manner ; we must find the means of uniting with them and helping them to mend their ways.

The three principles of the movement for agricultural co-operation are 'voluntariness', 'mutual benefit' and 'democratic management', the most important one being the principle of 'voluntariness'. Only if we have firmly grasped this principle of 'voluntariness', will we be resolute in seeking out measures to put fully into practice the two other principles of 'mutual benefit' and 'democratic management'. Inversely, only by putting correctly into practice the two principles of 'mutual benefit' and 'democratic management', can the faithful observance of the principle of 'voluntariness' be guaranteed. By firmly abiding by the above three principles, we will succeed in mobilizing all members of the co-operatives to participate actively in their management, and to improve their work continuously in all respects.

As Lenin pointed out, with a new system such as that of the co-operatives in the countryside, there can be no powerful development unless there is active assistance on the part of the State led by the working class. Therefore, in the course of achieving agricultural co-operation, our people's democratic State must actively help the co-operatives in all fields, to enable them to stand firmly on their own feet and gradually gather strength. This is very important for the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the socialist system.

Handicrafts, despite their backward side, play an important role in our economy. They embrace 17 branches, with 150 different trades, and produce more than 1,000 kinds of products; at present, they account for more than half the total output value of industry and handicrafts in the North. To carry out the socialist transformation of handicrafts is to create basic conditions for the gradual elimination of their backward side and the promotion of their positive side, as well as for the development of handicrafts in a direction favourable to the national economy and to the handicraftsmen. Our line for the building of handicraft co-operatives proceeds through various forms, such as co-operative teams, supply-marketing and production co-operatives, and producer co-operatives, combining closely the transformation of the relations of production with the transformation of the productive forces (improvement of tools, techniques, etc.) to lead handicrafts and the handicraftsmen to socialism.

Small traders in north Viet Nam represent a big proportion of the working people in town and countryside. We favour the use of various forms of co-operation, such as supply and marketing co-operative teams, supply-marketing and production co-operative teams, co-operative stores, etc., to carry out the socialist transformation of small trade and gradually to transfer the bulk of the small traders over to production.

Private capitalist economy and the national bourgeoisie are the objects of the socialist revolution. But in the concrete situation of our country, since we have a strong people's democratic State, a lasting and solid

worker-peasant alliance and a socialist State economy which plays the leading role in the national economy ; since the national bourgeoisie in the North is but a small force, has already been the ally of the working class during the national people's democratic revolution, has in the main approved the Programme of the Fatherland Front from the re-establishment of peace until the present, and is able to accept socialist transformation ; since our country is temporarily divided into two zones and since the guiding principle of our Party's policy is 'build the North and in so doing, take the South into due consideration', with a view to increasing the strength of the whole country in the struggle for national reunification, we favour the peaceful transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce along socialist lines. We use a policy of utilization, restriction and transformation and a policy of redemption and gradual payment in relation to the means of production of the bourgeoisie, and not the policy of expropriation. We proceed through various forms of the supply of raw materials, orders placed for the processing and manufacture of goods, retail distribution, commission agencies, joint State - private enterprises and co-operative enterprises, combining economic, administrative and educative measures, economic transformation and ideological re-education, to carry out the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce, abolish capitalist relations of production and turn the capitalists into working people in the socialist system. In the course of the transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce, we continue to consider the national

bourgeoisie as a member of the people and of the Fatherland Front, but in regard to reactionary bourgeois elements who are obstinately opposed to socialist transformation, to the Fatherland and the people, we must deal with them resolutely.

Socialist transformation in the North enjoys many favourable conditions. The masses of peasants, handicraftsmen and small traders have been active in the revolutionary struggle for long years under the leadership of the Party, and the revolution has brought them freedom and initial improvement in their living standards ; therefore, in general, they have confidence in our Party and in President Ho Chi Minh, and are ready to respond to the call of the Party. The national bourgeoisie, under the guidance and with the help of our Party, can also accept transformation and advance to socialism. Moreover we have the strength of the State economic sector which is daily growing and has already secured the leading role in the national economy. However, economic transformation in the North remains an arduous and complex class struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path.

The peasants, handicraftsmen, and small traders are toiling people. Being toiling people constitutes their fundamental and essential side. Looked at from this view-point, they are people who approve socialism and are the closest and most reliable allies of the working class in the socialist revolution. But at the same time, they are small producers, they carry on business individually ; looked at from that viewpoint, they have a more or less spontaneous tendency to capitalism. This is most clearly seen among the upper

middle peasants and in a section of small shop owners and small traders. To unite the peasants, handicraftsmen and small traders and lead them on the road of co-operation in order to advance to socialism, we must of necessity educate them to permeate them with socialist ideology, at the same time devising appropriate measures to cut their economic ties with the bourgeoisie in order to restrict and eliminate their spontaneous tendency to capitalism. All these tasks must not only be performed in a consistent and systematic manner before they enter upon the path of co-operation, but must also be continued for a long time after they have joined the co-operative movement.

Economically as well as politically, the national bourgeoisie in the North of our country is very small and weak ; we have the possibility of using peaceful means to transform the national bourgeois. However they constitute an exploiting class and their nature is to develop capitalism. Socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce is indeed a process of restricting, fighting back against and finally eliminating capitalist exploitation by the national bourgeoisie, it is indeed a process of complex class struggle to transform the situation of the national bourgeoisie from that of an exploiting class into that of labouring people. During this process, it is impossible that the national bourgeoisie will not use this or that measure, this or that method, to oppose us. That is why, although there is the possibility for them to accept socialist transformation, if we wish to turn this possibility into a reality, it is absolutely necessary to

wage a resolute and persevering struggle against their negative side, and to create conditions for the promotion of their positive and patriotic side, thereby helping them to transform themselves and gradually become genuine labouring people.

The arduous and complex character of the class struggle in the movement of socialist transformation manifests itself not only in the fight to turn the bourgeois into labouring people, but also in the struggle against the forces opposed to socialism, who plot to sabotage the movement of socialist transformation. These forces include various underground henchmen of the U. S. and Diem in the North, the reactionaries working under the cloak of religion, the reactionary bourgeois elements, the reactionary rich peasants, and the obstinate landlords, who refuse to reeducate themselves. With encouragement and assistance from the U. S. and Diem, they constantly seek ways of undermining socialist transformation in countryside and town in the political, economic, organizational and ideological fields. We must constantly heighten our vigilance and in good time shatter all their evil schemes.

Socialist transformation in the North is clearly an arduous and complex class struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path. In this struggle, the political and ideological leadership of the Party, the political and economic power of the people's democratic State, the role of the State economic sector and the active part played by the masses, above all the workers and the toiling peasants, constitute decisive factors.

To ensure the complete victory of socialist transformation, we must constantly reinforce the leadership of the Party in all fields, endeavour to bring into play the political and economic power of the State to shatter all schemes of sabotage concocted by the counter-revolutionaries, actively develop the State economic sector and heighten the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of workers and toiling peasants.

Socialist transformation must aim at eliminating exploitation, releasing the forces of production, reorganizing labour on a new basis, constantly raising labour productivity, promoting production and creating favourable conditions for the vigorous development of socialist industrialization.

To remove the present state of agricultural backwardness of our country, to lead our country from a system made up mainly of small production to a system of large-scale socialist production, we have no other way than that of socialist industrialization. That is why socialist industrialization is the central task of the whole period in our country. The achievement of socialist industrialization aims at laying the material and technical foundations of socialism, creating basic conditions for the victory of socialism. The key-point in socialist industrialization is the priority development of heavy industry. Heavy industry is the foundation of socialist economy. Only by giving priority to the development of heavy industry will we be able to provide means of production to industry and agriculture, to guarantee the continuous achievement of extended socialist reproduction, to develop the national

economy to a high degree and constantly to improve the life of the working people. In the socialist industrialization of the North, we must thoroughly understand the need for the priority development of heavy industry.

Socialist industrialization is not simply the building of modern industry but also the modernization of agriculture and other branches of the economy. Industry and agriculture are the two main branches of the national economy. They are closely connected with one another. Only by intimately combining the industrial and agricultural branches, and by striking a correct balance between industry and agriculture, will we be able to lay successfully the material and technical foundations of socialism. Industry, above all heavy industry, plays the leading role in the socialist economy: only with a modern industry can agriculture and the other economic branches have their full development. Inversely, agriculture is the basis of industrial development; the development of agriculture will create the fundamental conditions for a vigorous and speedy promotion of industrial development.

At present, agriculture occupies a very big place in the national economy of the North of our country; moreover, the North lies in the tropical zone and has very great possibilities for agricultural production. So, for north Viet Nam, combinations between the industrial and agricultural branches, and the striking of a correct balance between them in the course of socialist industrialization, take on all the more importance. By actively developing agriculture, we will be able to ensure the constant expansion of the rural market for

the products of industry, to ensure the constant supply of raw materials to light industry and of food to the workers and the toiling people, and to increase our exports of tropical products in exchange for machines and industrial equipment. The powerful development of agriculture and light industry will provide heavy industry with an ever broader market, and with more and more abundant capital, as a result of which the priority development of heavy industry will become fully possible. To create favourable conditions for the carrying out of the socialist industrialization of north Viet Nam, we must strive to develop agriculture all-sidedly on the basis of co-operation and State farms ; we must mobilize every positive factor in our tropical agricultural production to promote the building of industry, and the parallel development of agriculture, closely combining industry and agriculture.

Our Party's policy concerning socialist industrialization in the North may be formulated as follows : the socialist industrialization of the North consists in building a balanced and modern socialist economic structure, combining industry with agriculture and taking heavy industry as the basis, giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry and at the same time striving to develop agriculture and light industry, with a view to transforming our country from a backward agricultural country into one endowed with a modern industry and a modern agriculture.

In the course of socialist industrialization, our guiding principle in the building and development of industry is : to combine large enterprises with small and medium-sized enterprises, to combine modern with

rudimentary techniques, to combine the building of new enterprises with the full use of existing enterprises, to combine the development of central industry and local industry. By grasping this guiding principle firmly, we can mobilize and bring into play all positive factors, and initiate a broad mass movement for the development of industry, thereby rapidly laying the foundation of our country's industry.

We must build a system of heavy industry serving as the basis of the national economy, but its structure and scale should conform to our conditions and requirements and to the division of labour and co-operation within the socialist camp. Our heavy industry is at present small, our capital investments are for the time being limited ; the number of cadres and workers trained for heavy industry is not great, and the raw materials required for heavy industrial development await further investigation and prospecting. Our direction in the building of heavy industry must start from the above-mentioned conditions and from our needs. Only in this way can our general national economic development proceed at a high rhythm.

Our heavy industrial system will comprise branches which our country must at all costs build and which it has the possibility of building, such as electric power, metallurgy, machine-building, fuel, building materials, chemicals, etc. ; in each branch, we shall build what is necessary and what can be expanded with a view to laying the necessary material and technical foundations of socialism and creating the conditions to meet the constantly growing needs of our people in food, clothing, housing, education, etc.

To transform our country from a backward agricultural country into one endowed with modern industry and modern agriculture, the decisively important question is that of completing the technical equipment and technical transformation of our whole national economy, mechanizing the different branches of production, building and transport, thereby rapidly raising labour productivity. At present, we rely mainly on the brother countries for the supply of equipment and machines ; but in the future, we ourselves must produce such equipment and machines as we can, and must ourselves satisfy the bulk of the ever growing needs in equipment of our national economy. Therefore, we must strive to develop the machine-building industry and consider it as the key branch in heavy industry.

We are carrying out socialist industrialization in conditions of the existence of a powerful world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union. Thanks to this basic favourable factor, the tempo of industrialization in our country will be high. In order to reach this tempo, we must strive to develop heavy industry, and at the same time rapidly increase production in agriculture and light industry ; we must guarantee a reasonable balance between industrial and agricultural development between heavy and light industry, between central and local industry, and between industry and agriculture and communications and transport, between industry and agriculture and the other branches of the national economy. We must correctly allocate and make full use of manpower and capital, strive to practise economy in all respects, to obtain maximum results with minimum expenditure.

We must raise the socialist consciousness of the toiling people, and at the same time help them to see clearly the material benefits brought by socialist industrialization, thereby impelling forward the patriotic emulation movement and laying speedily and firmly the material and technical foundations of socialism.

In order to ensure the favourable development of socialist industrialization in the North of our country, our Party must combine the forces of the State and those of the people, combine the efforts of the State economy and the contribution of the collective economy, combine the development of the plains and coastal areas and that of the midland and highland areas, combine all-sided and centralized leadership from the centre and the promotion of initiatives and the creativeness of the localities, combine the guaranteeing of socialist accumulation and the continuous raising of the living standards of the toiling people ; combine the reliance upon our own forces as the main thing and the good use of aid from the brother countries. Only by so doing will we be able to mobilize and develop every positive factor to complete the task of socialist industrialization in a firm manner and in a relatively short time.

Comrades,

Socialism demands a large-scale system of production comprising modern industry and modern agriculture and at the same time advanced culture and science. To advance to socialism, the North of our country must carry out the socialist revolution in economy, at

the same time it must carry out the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique.

The socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, like the socialist revolution in economy, is an integral part of the socialist revolution. They must be carried out simultaneously and must stimulate one another. The socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique in the North of our country is of very great importance. When the toiling masses have been liberated, the moral factor is of immense effect in the building of the new system. In order to promote this moral factor to the utmost and to make full use of it, we must transform and constantly strengthen the ideology of the toiling masses and strive to raise their cultural and technical levels. Ideology, culture and technique are sharp weapons which the Party of the working class must take firmly in hand to promote the whole revolution and the building of the new society. In the course of taking the North to socialism, our Party must attach importance to the carrying out of the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique.

Following the August revolution, our people seized State power and became the masters of the State ; the idea of being the masters of society has since been strengthened and enhanced among the working people of our country. The present socialist revolution in the field of ideology will further promote this idea among the working people of our country in the new historical conditions, with the aim of ensuring that our people may base themselves upon the socialist relations of

production for the transformation, in a conscious manner, of society, nature, and man. The aim of this revolution is to imbue the whole people, first of all the working people, with socialist ideas, to help them to eradicate the old outlook on the world and life and to cultivate the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the world and the communist conception of life so as to ensure for Marxism-Leninism an absolute predominance in the moral life of our country and to make it the ideology of the whole people, as the base on which the new morality of our people will be built.

Together with the revolution in ideology, we must carry out the socialist revolution in culture and technique. The aim of the cultural and technical revolution is to give the broad masses of the working people a solid cultural level, enabling them to master a necessary amount of scientific and technical knowledge, and to apply this knowledge to the transformation of the backward culture and technique of our country and to the building of a modern culture, science and technique. Through cultural and technical revolution, we will liberate our people forever from the state of ignorance in which the colonialists and the feudalists keeps them ; they can thus advance to a rich cultural life, gradually mastering technique, and raising production.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned aims for the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, we must promote ideological education and struggle. Ideology, culture and technique are three aspects having close connections with each other and impelling each other in their development, but ideology is still

the basis. The cultural and technical revolution cannot be satisfactorily carried out, let alone be successful if it is not firmly based on the gains made in the ideological revolution.

At present, in the North of our country, the fight is going on daily and hourly between the socialist path and the capitalist path, between the forces approving socialism and the forces opposed to it. To ensure the complete victory of socialism in this fight, ideological education and struggle must aim at continuously raising our people's level of socialist consciousness, patriotism, their will to reunify the country and their idea of being the masters of society, opposing all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, criticizing petty-bourgeois ideology, and continuing to eliminate all vestiges of feudal and other wrong ideologies.

We must imbue the people with the socialist conception of labour, bring them to abide consciously by the new labour discipline, to hate exploitation and to be determined to remove all vestiges of the ideology of exploitation of the landlord and bourgeois classes.

We must strive to raise to the highest degree among the people the sentiment of class solidarity, and a high spirit of collectivism, and must struggle against all manifestations of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois individualism.

We must educate the people in patriotism, inculcate in them national pride combined with proletarian internationalisms, and wipe out all remnants of feelings of inferiority and narrow nationalist sentiment.

We must still further deepen hatred for imperialism and feudalism, and heighten revolutionary vigilance among the people ; we must still more strongly develop the will for national reunification, the spirit of heroism and unsubmissiveness, and the valiant revolutionary traditions of our people.

We must enhance the spirit of respecting and safeguarding public property and resolutely fight against corruption and waste.

We must train the people in scientific ideas and combat superstition.

We must promote the new, intense, energetic, flexible and orderly style of work, and oppose the habits of lethargy, awkwardness, and sluggishness, in work and in life, so many vestiges of the old society.

These new ideas, this new style of work, must animate our people's new life, and their struggle for the reunification of the Fatherland, and for the socialist and communist ideal.

Our work in ideological education and struggle must be intimately attached to life ; it must be concrete, meticulous, flexible, and in conformity both with reason and with sentiment ; it must avoid abstractness, over-generalization, bookishness, and rigidity. Over the last few years, our ideological work has made much progress, but it is not yet thoroughly related to life, it still has a more or less abstract and generalized character in its content, is bookish and rigid in method, and its results are not really deep or far-reaching. We must strive to improve and further enhance our ideological work, to make it a powerful

lever for our cause of socialist transformation and construction in the North of our country.

We must intensify our activity in education and culture on a large scale in order to serve the Party's line and revolutionary task. Our educational work must aim at bringing up the young generation as labouring people, masters of the country, having socialist consciousness, culture, technique, and good health, all-sidedly developed for the building of socialism ; it must at the same time serve the training of cadres for socialist construction in economy and culture and the constant raising of the cultural standards of the toiling people.

To achieve these aims, in our educational work, we must firmly grasp the principle of combining education with productive labour and the guiding principles of closely connecting theory with practice, study with work, education at school with that in society.

We must rapidly develop education in quantity, and at the same time pay constant attention to the raising of its quality, the young generation and the various strata of the toiling people. Together with general education, we must carry out technical education. Importance must be attached to giving complementary education to the cadres, soldiers, workers and peasants, to developing general education and higher education vigorously and by steady steps, and to expanding vocational education ! We must always keep the gates of our socialist schools wide open to the workers, peasants and national minorities, irrespective of sex,

and grant them every favourable condition for good study.

Teachers being the main force in the development of education and culture, we must attach paramount importance to their training and fostering, politically, ideologically as well as professionally and culturally ; at the same time we must constantly strengthen and improve the work of the Labour Youth Union in the schools.

In order to implement the line and task of education, it is necessary to speed up our research on educational science and to build our pedagogies. It is necessary, on the basis of a synthesis of our experiences in educational work during the past fifteen years, to study and prepare for a reformation of the content, teaching methods and organization of education in socialist schools.

We must actively promote our scientific and technical work. This work must be closely linked with production ; it must serve production and the people's life and at the same time national defence. Our science and technique must be built and developed with focal points and through firm forward steps ; with the wholehearted aid and the close co-operation of the brother countries, first of all the Soviet Union, our country's science must strive, within a few decades, to reach the international level. For the time being, in the natural and technical science, we must concentrate mainly on the different branches of applied science, combining modern knowledge with the traditional experiences of our nation, with a view to immediately

serving production as the main thing, while not neglecting the various branches of fundamental science. In the fields of the social sciences, we must gradually build the necessary branches : for the time being, we should go deeply into philosophy and political economy to contribute to the forward movement of socialist construction and to the struggle for national reunification.

In order to promote scientific and technical work, we must endeavour on the one hand to train scientific cadres and to set up in a planned way establishments for scientific research ; we must have a long-term, overall plan for the training and fostering of a big and strong contingent of tens of thousands of specialized cadres in the various fields of the natural sciences, technology and the social sciences ; these cadres must not only be professionally qualified but must also be of good political substance, entirely devoted to the service of the cause of socialist and communist construction ; they must be capable not only of carrying out research work independently, but also of combining their efforts with those of the masses in scientific work. On the other hand, we must intensively propagate scientific and technical knowledge among the broad masses, making science and technique the property of the working people, promoting the movement for the improvement of technique, and for inventions and discoveries among the masses, mobilizing the prodigious strength of the masses to participate in the building and development of our science. In the particular situation of our country, this is a very urgent and heavy task. Only through the

creation of a powerful mass movement for the "March on Science" can science be rapidly developed.

Art and literature occupy an important place in the socialist revolution in ideology, science and technique. We must build up a new art and literature with a national character and rich socialist content. Art and literature must possess a clear Party spirit and popular character, must go thoroughly into and have close relation to the many-sided life of the toiling people struggling for socialism and national reunification. Art and literary work must render efficient service to the revolutionary lines and policies of the Party and contribute actively to the formation of the ideology and sentiment of man and to his transformation along socialist lines, to the mobilization and encouragement of the people to deploy all their spirit and strength to achieve the revolutionary tasks put forward by the Party. We must constantly raise the ideological and artistic level of the productions of art and literary workers, to make of them sharp weapons in the building of the new man from the point of view of ideology and sentiment.

In the building of a new art and literature, the promotion of a broad mass movement of artistic and literary creation has very great significance. From within this movement will emerge new talents, swelling the ranks of artistic and literary workers, creating, performing and criticising more abundantly and enriching artistic and literary life. At the same time it is necessary to continue to foster professional artists and writers politically, ideologically, culturally, and professionally, and to strive to bring into existence

favourable conditions for the vigorous blossoming of artistic and literary creation and activity. We must develop the new art and literature in an all-sided manner and attach importance to helping the growth of the young and new branches. Literary and artistic theory and criticism, the training and fostering of writers and artists merit our particular attention, for the sake of the healthy development of our literature and art.

To make our press, information, broadcasting and publishing activities really sharp weapons of the working class on the ideological and political fronts, we must strengthen Party leadership of this work, overcoming the present weaknesses of form and content in press, information, broadcasting and publication work, and striving to enhance their qualities from the points of view of ideology, of mass character and of truthfulness. We must train and develop our body of worker and peasant press informants to make our newspapers ever more closely linked with the masses and with life. We must actively train and foster our contingent of press, information broadcasting and publication cadres, improve the distribution of newspapers and books and the organization of their reading and encourage radio listening, so that books, newspapers and the radio may become indeed the spiritual food of the broad masses. If all these tasks are performed in a satisfactory manner, our press, information broadcasting and publication services will become efficient collective propagandists, agitators and organizers of the Party, thereby enhancing the political, ideological and organizational work of the Party among the masses.

Man is the most valuable capital in the socialist system. The protection and promotion of the health of man is the lofty duty and goal of the medical, physical, educational and sports departments under our system. That is why our Party and Government attach paramount importance to medical, physical educational and sports activity. Medical, physical educational and sports departments play an important role in service of production, of the people's life, of capital construction and of national defence. We must launch a patriotic mass movement for disease prevention, physical education and sports, and make them a revolutionary, regular, continuous and lasting movement ; this is the duty not only of the medical, physical educational and sports departments, but also of mass organizations, State organs, and Party organizations. We must consolidate and develop both the State and people's founded establishments for the prevention of diseases and epidemics in order to advance towards the gradual eradication of epidemics and social diseases, so that the people's health may see constant improvement. Study must be made of realistic measures for the gradual improvement of the eating, housing, and maternity conditions of our people. Attention must be paid to the protection of the health of women and children, and to medical work in high-land areas. There must be a close coordination of Eastern and Western medicine in health work, in disease prevention, in clinical methods, in the production of medicines, in the training of cadres and in scientific research. Efforts must be made in the training and fostering of cadres for medicine, physical education and sports.

Our Party is the leading force and the core of the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique ; therefore we must actively fit ourselves in all fields to be able to discharge this heavy responsibility. Our Party has full capacity to lead the revolution in ideology, culture and technique, and only under the leadership of our Party can this revolution be carried through along correct lines. That is why the constant strengthening of our Party leadership in ideological, cultural and technical fields is the main condition for ensuring full success for the revolution in ideology, culture and technique. Efforts must be made in the mass training of new intellectuals of worker and peasant stock, and in helping intellectuals trained under the old regime to reform themselves, thus creating a large body of socialist intellectuals. Party members working as cadres in the departments of culture, education, sciences, art, literature, press, medicine, physical education, sports, etc., whatever position they may occupy, must on the one hand go deeply into their professional work, and on the other strive to study theory and do research concerning their specialities ; they must rely upon the masses to discover new problems in good time and propose appropriate solutions to the Party. Moreover, they must unite with non-Party specialists cadres to guide them in their work, while learning from them and together with them, to improve the work and fulfil the tasks assigned by the Party.

Comrades,

The above analysis shows clearly that the transitional period in the North of our country is the period

in which the Party has to carry out the socialist revolution, including socialist transformation and socialist construction, in the economic, political, ideological, cultural and technical fields. This period began with the moment of the complete liberation of the North ; it will end with the fundamental completion of the building of socialism.

The general line for the North in the period of transition to socialism is as follows :

To unite the whole people, to develop their ardent patriotism and traditions of heroic struggle and industrious labour, at the same time strengthening solidarity with the brother socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, in order to take the North toward socialism rapidly, vigorously and steadily, to build an abundant and happy life in the North, to consolidate the North, and turn it into a strong base for the struggle for national reunification, contributing to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the safeguarding of peace in South-east Asia and the world.

To reach this goal, we must make use of the people's democratic State power to fulfil the historic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, to carry out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce, to develop the State economic sector, to carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry, while striving to develop agriculture and light industry ; to push ahead the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, and to transform our country into a socialist

country with modern industry, modern agriculture and an advanced culture and science.

In elaborating the first Five-Year Plan (1961-65), as well as in subsequent long-term economic plans, we must firmly keep to this general line in order to ensure brilliant victory for socialist transformation and construction in the North.

IV

TASKS AND ORIENTATION OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1961-65)

Dear Comrades,

Since the re-establishment of peace, north Viet Nam has passed through three years of economic development and transformation along socialist lines. During that period, thanks to the correct leadership of our Party, to the ardent patriotism and the industriousness of our people, to the wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries, we have overcome many difficulties, and registered great achievements.

Socialist transformation has scored important successes. As far as agriculture is concerned, at the beginning of June 1960, 55 per cent of toiling peasant households were in producers' co-operatives, of which

four per cent were members of co-operatives of advanced type ; handicraftsmen organized in various types of handicraft co-operatives made up 67.8 per cent of the total number of professional handicraftsmen whom it is proposed to draw into co-operation ; out of this figure, handicraftsmen who had become members of producers' co-operatives and supply - marketing - and production co-operatives made up 44.2 per cent ; half of the small traders whom it is proposed to draw into co-operation had joined various kinds of co-operative teams and co-operatives with fixed interests and fixed salaries ; 5.5 per cent had moved completely over to production. The number of industrial and merchant capitalist households taking part in joint State-private enterprises reached 97.2 per cent of the total number of capitalist households in the North, with 97 per cent of the total registered capital.

Together with socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade, and private capitalist industry and commerce, we have striven to enlarge and strengthen the State economic sector. By the end of 1959, State industry accounted for 47.5 per cent of the total value of industrial and handicraft output ; State transport services handled 70.3 per cent of the total volume of freight ; State commerce accounted for 89 per cent of the total volume of wholesale trade and 41.4 per cent of retail trade (62.4 per cent if supply and marketing co-operatives are included). Banking was entirely in the hands of the State.

As for the development of production, we have restored and vigorously developed industrial and agricultural production which was severely curtailed during the war. Compared with 1955, the gross value

of agricultural output in 1959 had increased by 52.4 per cent : cultivation had increased by 47 per cent, livestock breeding by 102.8 per cent, and rural side-occupations by 30.3 per cent ; the development of agriculture had been more all-sided than in the prewar period. Between 1956 and 1959, the average annual increase in the total value of agricultural output was 8.9 per cent ; the per capita average annual output of paddy had increased from 259.5 kg. to 334 kg. As compared with prewar levels, the production of paddy had doubled, maize production had increased by 76.6 per cent, groundnuts and hemp by 10-16 times, the number of oxen and buffaloes had nearly doubled and that of pigs was half as much again. In industry, by the end of 1959, we already had 152 central enterprises and more than 500 local industrial establishments. From 1956 to 1959, the average annual increase in industrial and handicraft output was 28 per cent. Our industry which had mainly been one of extraction of raw materials, had advanced to a situation in which it comprised manufacturing establishments, thereby supplying an important part of our requirements in means of production and consumer goods. Agriculture and industry had undergone powerful development and the balance between them had been re-adjusted in a progressive direction : in 1955 agriculture made up 83.1 per cent, and industry 10.9 per cent of the total value of production, but in 1959, agriculture made up only 64.5 per cent and industry had already reached 35.5 per cent ; by the end of 1960 agriculture will make up 60 per cent and industry 40 per cent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output.

As a result of the development of production, the material and cultural standards of our people have been raised. From 1957 to 1959, the national income per capita was raised from 180.6 dong to 215.5 dong, i.e. by 19.3 per cent. The wages of workers and employees have been further increased bringing about a rise of 53.3 per cent in the nominal wage and 33 per cent in the real wage. The per capita average income of the peasants in 1959 increased by about 14.8 per cent as compared with 1957. In the towns, unemployment has been fundamentally wiped out ; more than 100,000 people have been found employment. Purchasing power per capita in 1959 was 66.2 per cent higher than in 1955. In the cultural field, the elimination of illiteracy has been basically completed in the plains, and the movement for complementary education is in full swing. The number of general education schools has increased by 1,742 and there are twice as many pupils. The number of secondary vocational schools and that of higher educational intitutions have increased by 26 and 6 respectively, and their enrolment 5 and 6 times. At the end of 1959, the total number of students and pupils was 2,400,000,i.e. 16 per cent of the whole population in north Viet Nam. The number of high-level technical cadres has increased nearly 3 times. The work of scientific research and the popularization of science and technique has been initially organized. Medical and preventive hygiene work has achieved important results, and the physical educational and sports movement is forging ahead.

The achievements of the past six years testify to the correctness of the Party line in economic restoration,

development and transformation and in cultural development. The Party has strengthened solidarity and unity of mind within its ranks, enhanced the revolutionary activity of the working people, and secured the success of economic restoration, development and transformation, and of cultural development along socialist lines.

Our Congress warmly salutes the spirit of heroic struggle and industrious labour of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other strata of the toiling people in the building and consolidation of the North. We express our sincere thanks for the disinterested and great assistance of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist countries ; at the same time we thank the technicians of fraternal countries for their wholehearted help given to our people in economic rehabilitation and development and in cultural development. The achievements we have recorded are very great, but not yet up to the mark, as compared with the requirements. At the same time we have also had shortcomings and weaknesses. The greatest shortcoming was our tardiness in grasping the fact that revolution had passed to a new stage in the North following the restoration of peace. As a result, we were behindhand in laying down the broad lines and policies for socialist transformation and socialist construction, in carrying out socialist education within the Party and among the people ; we lacked a far seeing perspective in our practical work, and failed to make adequate preparations both from the material viewpoint and from that of cadres for the building of the socialist economy and culture. On the other hand, the level of the leadership

and management work of our cadres in economic, financial and technical fields, was still below the mark, and their organizational capacities did not keep pace with the requirements of the political tasks. These weaknesses to a certain extent restricted the scope of our successes. We must strive to continue to develop the achievements we have registered ; and at the same time to overcome the above-mentioned shortcomings and weaknesses, in order to fulfil successfully the Three-Year Plan for economic development and transformation, for cultural development, thereby making active preparations for the switch-over to the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan.

After the Three-Year Plan, socialist transformation will have been brought to a success of a decisive character. A very great number of toiling peasants and handicraftsmen will have been in semi-socialist co-operatives, and a small section in socialist co-operatives. Most small traders will have been in co-operative organizations, and a number will have shifted to production. The private enterprises of the industrial and merchant capitalists will have been transformed into joint State-private and co-operative enterprises. The State economic sector will have had an absolutely predominant position in the national economy ; its leading role will have been further strengthened. Socialist relations of production, in the two forms of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, will have been the principal relations of production in the society of north Viet Nam. However, in agriculture, handicrafts and above all in small trade, some individual

economy will remain ; most of the co-operative organizations in these branches will remain at the semi-socialist level, not yet strongly consolidated from the ideological and economic points of view. In joint State-private and co-operative enterprises, there will still exist many vestiges of capitalist methods management, the capitalists will be only at the first step of re-education. Mutual relations and assistance between the system of ownership by the whole people and that of collective ownership will not yet be close. After the Three-Year Plan, we will still have to strive for the completion of the establishment of socialist relations of production and to continue to strengthen these relations in all respects. Therefore, socialist transformation will remain a very important task.

Following the Three-Year Plan, thanks to the transformation of the relations of production and to initial improvement in the productive forces, agriculture will have made a step forward. State industry will have had some new branches and a number of new heavy and light industrial undertakings ; it will have begun producing certain small machines and other means of production and will have partly met the essential needs of the people in consumer goods. Local industries will be taking shape, co-operative handicrafts will have undergone initial improvements in technique, joint State-private industrial enterprises will have had a first reorganization and some will have received new equipment. The productive forces of society will have begun to grow. But, from an overall viewpoint, agriculture will still represent the bulk of the national economy, its techniques will still be

backward, improved farm tools will still be few and not yet in wide use, the forces of traction will still be very inadequate, the productivity of the soil and labour efficiency will still be low, no stable solution will yet have been brought to the food problem. Heavy industry will still be embryonic, light industry still small, labour productivity in industry will still be low. Communications and transport, generally speaking, will remain backward and unable to meet economic and defence requirements. Little will yet have been done in the prospecting of the riches of the subsoil and in basic research. Cadres for economic construction and skilled workers will be both few in number and inexperienced. The situation described above clearly shows that following the successful fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan and the decisive success of socialist transformation, the productive forces in north Viet Nam will still be backward. In order to consolidate and develop the socialist relations of production and to push ahead industrial and agricultural production, we must actively expand the productive forces and put an end to their present state of backwardness. Therefore, following the Three-Year Plan, north Viet Nam will have to switch over to the period of socialist construction ; the First Five-Year Plan will be an important step, marking the opening of this period.

In order to develop the productive forces with vigour, to consolidate and develop the new relations of production, to lead north Viet Nam in rapid, vigorous and steady advance toward socialism, in the period of the First Five-Year Plan, we must endeavour to take the first step in socialist industrialization, to lay

the first material and technical foundations of socialism, hand in hand with the completion of socialist transformation, transforming our economy into a socialist economy.

In attaining this goal, the First Five-Year Plan will involve the following fundamental tasks :

a) to strive to develop industry and agriculture, to take the first step in the priority development of heavy industry, at the same time to endeavour to expand agriculture all-sidedly, to develop light industry and the food industry, to develop communications and transport, to expand State trade and co-operative trade, to pave the way for the transformation of our country into an industrial-agricultural socialist country.

b) to complete the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce, to consolidate and strengthen the State economic sector, to strengthen the relations between the systems of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, to expand socialist relations of production in the whole national economy.

c) to raise the cultural level of the people, to promote the training and development of cadres for economic construction and skilled workers, to enhance the capacities of the cadres, workers and working people in economic management, to impel forward scientific and technological work, to proceed actively with the prospecting of our natural resources and to carry out basic research work, with a view to meeting

the needs of socialist economic and cultural development.

d) to bring about further improvement in the material and cultural life of the working people to ensure that everyone has adequate food, clothing, lodgings and improved health and an opportunity to study, to develop public welfare work, to build a new life in countryside and town.

e) Alongside and in co-ordination with economic development, it is necessary to strengthen the forces of national defence, firmly to maintain order and security, to protect the construction of socialism in north Viet Nam.

These five tasks are closely related, and are all aimed at ensuring the laying of the first material and technical foundations of socialism in north Viet Nam, strengthening north Viet Nam in all respects and making of it an eversteadier base for the struggle of the people throughout the country for national reunification.

On the basis of preliminary calculations, the Central Committee of the Party deems it necessary to present to the National Congress the following control figures serving as a basis for the elaboration of the First Five-Year Plan.

Within the five coming years, it is proposed that the total value of industrial output will increase by 148 per cent as compared with 1960, of which Group A will increase by 215 per cent and Group B by 110 per cent. The average annual increase in industrial output will be 20 per cent — Group A 25.8 per cent, and Group B 16 per cent.

The total value of agricultural output in the 5 years will increase by 61 per cent as compared with 1960, and the annual average increase will be 10 per cent.

In 1965, it is proposed that industry will make up 51 per cent and agriculture 49 per cent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output.

It is proposed that labour productivity will increase by about 54 per cent in State industry, and that the annual average increase will be 9 per cent.

In the 5 years, we must train 125,000 high-level and middle-level technical cadres, i. e. 10 times as many as during the Three-Year Plan, to be allocated to the various departments.

As regards the improvement of living standards, efforts must be made to raise the real income of the workers and the peasants in 1965 by 30 per cent as compared with 1960.

We must strive to strengthen Party leadership, enhance the patriotism and socialist enthusiasm of the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other sections of the people, and struggle resolutely for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks of the First Five-Year Plan. If we succeed in so doing, we will advance a step along the road of building the material and technical foundations of socialism, laying the first foundations for our industry, providing an initial stable solution to the food problem, training and fostering a big contingent of cadres who will serve as capital for the further socialist development of economy and culture and ensuring that the toiling people have employment, adequate food and clothing, lodgings

and health and an opportunity to study, thus further improving their life. At that moment, the superiority of socialism in the North will clearly manifest itself and will not be merely an abstract thing.

This situation will influence all the more strongly the revolutionary movement in south Viet Nam and the struggle of the people in the whole country for national reunification.

Comrades,

As stated above, in the coming years, we must still strive to complete socialist transformation. This is one of the important revolutionary tasks of the First Five-Year Plan. If this task is carried out satisfactorily, the socialist relations of production will be expanded to cover the whole economy of north Viet Nam, the productive forces will be vigorously developed, socialist industrialization and the initial laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism will be achieved in a favourable manner and the life of the peasants, handicraftsmen, and small traders will be further improved.

In regard to agricultural co-operation, the goal is to complete the transformation of the relations of production in agriculture, to complete co-operation at the elementary level, to bring all the agricultural co-operatives of lower type up to the level of the advanced type, and to merge the small co-operatives of advanced type into big co-operatives. These big co-operatives will not only embrace agricultural undertakings and manage rural credit, but will also establish

a number of local industrial enterprises, according to the local needs and possibilities. Together with the establishment of new co-operatives, the greatest attention must be given to the consolidation of co-operatives in all respects.

Thanks to our peasants' fervent patriotism and revolutionary spirit, to their absolute confidence in our Party, and thanks to our Party's determination to lead the north Viet Nam peasants along the path of socialism, which is the path of prosperity and happiness, the movement of agricultural co-operation generally speaking, has developed rather fast. To complete agricultural co-operation in a satisfactory manner, we must constantly educate all co-operative members in socialist ideas, bring them all to regard the work of the co-operatives as their own, to unite closely with each other and to enhance their spirit of diligence and thrift in the building of the co-operatives. The work of educating the peasants in ideology is a regular and long-term task, it must be carried out again and again many times and with perseverance.

To promote fully the superiority of the co-operatives over individual farming, the key problem is still the increase of labour productivity and the development of production. Therefore, alongside the promotion of ideological education in agricultural co-operatives, we must attach great importance to strengthening managerial work, improving labour organization and production techniques, ensuring the widespread use of improved and semi-mechanized farm tools, pushing ahead water conservancy and soil improvement work, with a view to raising production, guaranteeing

the constant raising of the income of co-operative members and of the accumulated capital of the co-operative, and making the economic foundations of the co-operatives ever more solid. We must promote undertakings embracing many branches and trades in the co-operatives, tap the latent resources of our agriculture and the experience of the peasants in their multifarious trades. On the basis of developed production, we must strive to increase the volume of goods produced by the co-operatives, expand the exchanges between industry and agriculture, between town and countryside, strengthen the relations between the systems of collective economy and State economy, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. The living standard of co-operative members must be daily improved, and in five years, must come level with that of the upper-middle peasants at present.

To meet the new requirements of the movement for agricultural co-operation, our Party must work out a number of new policies, such as a policy for the passage of co-operatives from lower type to advanced type ; for the merging of small co-operatives into big ones ; for the correct solution of the problem of the rights of co-operative members and of small co-operatives which are merged into big ones ; for the allocation of income to co-operative members in conditions of undertakings embracing many trades, for the use of the accumulated capital of the co-operatives, etc. At the same time, concrete study must be made of the organizational structure and forms of activity of Party organizations, of the people's power and mass organizations in primary units, so as to conform to the

development of the movement for agricultural co-operation.

The co-operatives should be helped by the people's democratic State in the training and fostering of managerial, technical and professional cadres, in credit, in water conservancy and soil improvement work, in matters of fertilizers, cattle, seeds, improved implements, etc. We must gradually set up agricultural machine and tractor teams and stations to make the first step in agricultural mechanization ; we must establish correct policies for prices, for State purchasing, for taxes, and for wages in relation to the co-operatives.

In the five years to come, it is necessary and possible to complete handicraft co-operation by turning the supply-marketing and production co-operatives, and the co-operative teams, into producers' co-operatives. We must pay attention to improving the implements and production of co-operative handicrafts, to pressing forward with the semi-mechanization of necessary branches, with a view to raising labour productivity and the quality of products, reducing production costs, turning out new kinds of products and meeting the needs of the people and of the export trade. With the approval of co-operative members, a number of handicraft co-operatives may develop into local State enterprises or be absorbed into existing State enterprises, while the bulk of them will continue to exist, constituting a reserve force for industry.

Policies should be worked out by the State to give effective assistance to handicraft co-operatives, such as ensuring regular and appropriate supply of needed raw

materials and equipment, ensuring the consumption of handicraft goods of given quality, etc.

Regarding small traders, it is necessary to continue, through different forms of co-operation, to employ them rationally as the distributors of State trade goods, and gradually to switch most of them over to production. As to the remaining co-operative organizations, they will be dealt with in a rational way according to concrete conditions ; either they will be united into large co-operative shops, or they will be allowed to carry on their business in a scattered way under the leadership of State trade.

Alongside the completion of socialist transformation in handicrafts and small trade, and the consolidation of the co-operatives and co-operative teams, we must continue to carry out the ideological education and re-education of the toiling handicraftsmen and tradesmen, to help them step by step to shed the ideas and habits left over from the individual economy.

After the Three-Year Plan, although the private enterprises of the industrial and merchant capitalists will have become joint State-private enterprises and co-operative enterprises, i.e. enterprises with a basically socialist character, the work of transforming private capitalist industry and commerce must be continued and will still remain an important task.

Socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce will include two tasks : transformation of the enterprise, and transformation of the capitalists, from the political and ideological points of view.

As regards transformation of the enterprises, on the one hand we must base ourselves on the concrete situation to continue re-arranging the enterprises, improving organization, re-adjusting and expanding plant, capital and manpowers etc ; on the other hand, we must improve the various statutes of the enterprises and their managerial work, eliminate capitalist forms of management and establish the socialist forms.

The political and ideological transformation of capitalists has a complex content and takes a long time. We must help the capitalists to participate effectively in productive labour and to continue to remould themselves ideologically to advance to socialism. This is an arduous struggle, because in the course of transformation, the negative side of the capitalists will continue to manifest itself in this or that way. We must rely firmly on the strength of the masses of workers to carry out transformation in a resolute and persevering way, at the same time encouraging each capitalist to endeavour to contribute to his own transformation.

Comrades,

Alongside the completion of socialist transformation, during the First Five-Year Plan period, we stand for taking the first step in socialist industrialization, thus laying the initial material and technical foundations of socialism in the North.

Our policy for socialist industrialization in the North is to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, while striving to develop agriculture

and light industry. In the First Five-Year Plan period, on the basis of the conception that industry plays the leading role in the national economy, while agriculture constitutes the foundation for the development of industry, we will attach importance on the one hand to the development of industry, and on the other to the all-sided development of agriculture, thus ensuring a high tempo of socialist industrialization in the North.

The development of industry has a very important place in the First Five-Year Plan. The task of industry in the five coming years is to bring a partial solution to the problem of the main means of production to be used in industry, agriculture, capital construction, communications and transport ; at the same time, ensuring the supply of principal consumer goods to meet the overall requirements in clothing, food, housing, study, etc., and further improving the people's living standards. Apart from meeting the main requirements in the country, industry also has the duty of expanding the sources of export goods to exchange for machines and equipment needed by our industry, and of strengthening co-operation between our country and the brother countries.

To fulfil the above-mentioned tasks, we must build and develop strongly the bases of heavy industry. The main direction for the building and development of our heavy industry in the coming five years is to develop electric power one step ahead of other industrial branches ; to attach importance to the development of the iron and steel industry, and machine-building industry ; at the same time to develop the coal industry, the building materials industry and to

take a first step in the establishment of a chemicals industry.

Alongside the building of the bases of heavy industry, we must strive to develop light industry, above all the food, weaving and timber processing industries, to ensure the production of nearly all the staple consumer goods used by the people, and the more the people's life is improved and the more the demand for light industrial products grows, the more we must attend to the development of light industry, the more we must guard against any tendency to neglect light industry, to overlook it, on the pretext of priority development of heavy industry.

We must develop local industries (including handicrafts) in a planned and guided way, with the aim of providing the local population with certain means of production, consumer goods and building materials which are in general demand, and of complementing the output of centrally-run industries. At the same time, we must re-arrange the joint State-private industrial enterprises in a rational way and fully use their productive capacities.

To ensure the favourable development of our industry, it is necessary to solve adequately certain major problems :

Firstly, the manpower problem must be solved ; in the five years to come we must provide industry with approximately 200,000 skilled workers and many hundreds of thousands of unskilled worker. This is a very difficult problem. We must devise a precise plan to guarantee fully and in good time the supply of

workers in the required numbers, and to train and foster skilled workers on a large scale, and at the same time, actively to apply all necessary measures to protect labour and to ensure labour safety to the workers.

Secondly, it is necessary to concentrate efforts to promote the constant raising of labour productivity and reduction of production costs. To reach this goal, we must develop the workers' enthusiasm in productive labour on the basis of political and ideological education and the higher cultural and technical level, combined with the improvement of the wages system and the development of public welfare ; we must strengthen labour organization, enhance labour discipline, encourage the improvement of organization and techniques, widely apply advanced techniques, fully utilize our equipment and machines and universalize business accounting systems ; expand production and practise economy.

Thirdly, the work of enterprise management must be strengthened. In this respect, over the last few years, we have registered some good results through the movement for the improvement of enterprise management. But this is only a first step and we must continue to make further progress in this work. To strengthen our activity here, we must firmly maintain the system of the responsibility of the director of the enterprise under the leadership of the enterprise Party Committee, and at the same time achieve the following three things : strengthening of the leadership of the enterprise Party Committee, powerful mobilization of the masses of workers, and promotion of the role of the

technical personnel. These three aspects are closely related to each other. Only by strengthening the political and ideological leadership and the leadership in production by the enterprise Party Committee, can we promote to the highest degree the positive role of the masses of workers in participating in the management of the enterprise and of the technical personnel in production. Inversely, only on the basis of the mobilization of the masses of workers and the promotion of the role of the technical personnel can the leadership of the enterprise Party Committee be strengthened in every respect in the work of management. At the same time, only by combining the strength of the masses of workers and that of the technical personnel under the leadership of the enterprise Party Committee can the work of enterprise management and of development of production record speedy progress.

The importance of the task of developing industry grows daily. But in our leadership of industry, we have not yet much experience. To fulfil the task of the First Five-Year Plan, we must deploy all our efforts to strengthen our leadership of industry. We must reinforce the Ministries dealing with industry, and allocate more able cadres to industrial departments. We must correctly put into practice the division of industrial management between the centre and the localities, strengthening the centralized and unified leadership of the centre and at the same time promoting the initiative of the localities. Party members and cadres working in industrial departments must actively study to firmly grasp technical and professional knowledge. We must entirely rely upon the masses of

workers and bring into play the role of the trade unions and the Labour Youth Union in the management of production and of the enterprises.

We must promote the patriotic emulation movement among the workers and employees, the movement to become advanced workers, advanced teams and advanced labour units. Along with the development of production, we must strive to protect production against all enemy attempts at sabotage, consider the protection of production as an important task in leading and managing industry.

An all-sided, vigorous, steady and developed agriculture is the foundation for the development of industry in north Viet Nam. North Viet Nam has to rely on the development of agriculture to build a socialist industry. That is why agricultural development has extremely great significance for the economy of our country, not only over the past few years but in the future as well. The more industry develops, the more it demands that agriculture develop. Our agriculture is still dependent on natural conditions in many respects and often encounters difficulties. Therefore, in the First Five-Year Plan and for a long time to come, we still attach paramount importance to the development of agriculture.

The task of agricultural production in the five years to come is, on the one hand, to achieve a stable solution of the food problem, to supply necessary raw materials to industry, especially to the food, weaving and clothing industries, and to prepare raw materials for the wood-processing industry; on the other hand, to contribute to the expansion of exports of agricultural

products, especially tropical products, in order to accumulate funds required by the development of economy and to enhance our co-operation with the brother countries.

In agriculture, our policy is to consider food production as the central task, at the same time, developing agriculture in an all-sided way. As far as food is concerned, rice is the main thing, but we also attach great importance to subsidiary crops which provide the population with auxiliary food, and increase the amount of animal fodder. We must endeavour to expand the planted area by increasing the number of crops and by land reclamation, and we must attach special importance to increasing the productivity of the whole planted area.

To develop agriculture all-sidedly, it is necessary to expand the cultivation of industrial crops and fruit-trees, to develop the breeding of livestock, to increase fish-rearing and fishing, to develop the planting of trees for afforestation and take care of the forests, and to encourage the agricultural co-operatives to promote their activity in side-occupations.

Together with the development of agricultural production, it is necessary to map out plans for the processing of agricultural products and to seek outlets for them, thus constantly increasing the proportion of processed goods in agriculture.

During the First Five-Year Plan period, alongside the completion of agricultural co-operation, we must pay particular attention to the development of State farms, especially in the midland and highland regions, with

the main purposes of promoting the large-scale cultivation of industrial crops and fruit-trees and the breeding of livestock. On State farms, a number of factories should be established to process the products of cultivation and livestock breeding. Since they have favourable conditions for the application of advanced techniques and the achievement of mechanization in agriculture the State farms must step by step improve their organization and their management, constantly raise labour efficiency and the yields from the various kinds of crops planted and livestock bred by them, and develop their good influence over the co-operatives ; they must help the co-operatives in the supply of good seeds and strains, in the training of cadres, etc.

To forge ahead with agricultural production, we must strongly develop water conservancy and soil-improvement work. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, it is necessary to undertake actively the construction of a hydraulic network, combining small works undertaken by the people with medium and big ones built by the State or jointly by the people and the State ; a beginning must be made with the harnessing and utilization of the Red River and its tributaries ; in co-ordination with water conservancy work, we must carry out soil improvement work step by step in the low-lying, salty, aluminous and barren regions. Good work in water conservancy and soil improvement is beneficial to agricultural development, in fighting drought, water-logging, flood, and aluminous and salty soil, and ensuring increased yields, more crops, and greater cultivated area and fuller

utilization of land and rice-fields ; it is also advantageous to the development of communications and transport, electric power and fish-rearing.

Ensuring the supply of fertilizers and insecticides is very important to the development of agricultural production. To have sufficient fertilizers, it is most necessary to develop cattle-breeding to get manure, to mobilize and organize the peasants for the collection of other kinds of fertilizers, especially compost, and at the same time to produce mineral fertilizers (phosphates, limes, etc.) and to import some chemical fertilizers. We must also guide the peasants in the correct processing and use of the various kinds of manure and in the correct methods of spreading compost and chemical fertilizers on the soil. As to seeds and breeds, we should study and select good ones (of rice, vegetables, industrial plants, cattle, fish, etc.) so as gradually to replace the old varieties of low productivity.

Over the next five years, we must actively apply ' chain ' techniques, while striving to improve farming implements. In our present concrete conditions, the application of ' chain ' techniques allied with the improvement of farming implements is very important to drive ahead the development of agricultural production. The improvement of implements is also a necessary stage in preparing for the mechanization of agriculture : it creates conditions for the further raising of labour efficiency, and economizes labour power, thereby creating possibilities for the establishment of other branches and trades and increasing the accumulated capital of cooperatives and the income of their members. We must combat the wrong tendency

to wait passively for agricultural machines, refusing to prosecute the movement for the application of 'chain' techniques and the improvement of implements.

Alongside the improvement of implements, we must carry out the initial mechanization of agriculture and set up a number of agricultural machine and tractor stations wherever the required conditions exist. Our guiding principle for mechanization of agriculture is : State farms will be mechanized rapidly and equipped with modern machinery ; as for agricultural producers co-operatives, they will proceed from the widespread use of improved implements to semi-mechanization and small mechanization, thus laying good grounds for later full mechanization.

Agriculture plays a very important role in the national economy. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, although we attach greater importance to the development of industry, this does not mean that we should overlook agriculture. On the contrary, we must attach importance to agriculture precisely because we attach importance to the development of industry. We must strengthen even more our leadership of agriculture. We must reinforce the organs entrusted with the leadership and guidance of agriculture ; we must guide all departments to have effective plans in service of agriculture. Local Party Committees (except in cities and industrial areas) must consider the leadership of agriculture as their central task, while attaching importance to the leadership of local industry. They must keep close to the villages, have intimate knowledge of the situation of agricultural production in the villages and give timely help to the

villages in settling their difficulties in agricultural production. The method of experimental rice-fields should be promoted, to make the leadership of agriculture closer, more concrete and more effective.

Alongside the development of industry and agriculture, it is necessary to develop communications and postal facilities and to intensify our work in trade and in finance in order to serve efficiently the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism.

Communications and posts are important departments closely linked with the development of industry and agriculture. We must strive to develop communications and postal facilities to meet in good time the requirements of the various economic departments, to expand our home and foreign relations and at the same time to serve the needs of national defence.

In the First Five-Year Plan, we must study the daily growing relations between the different economic sectors, and the character and volume of the various movement of goods, combine the use of roads, railways and waterways, combine main communication lines with smaller ones, combine the construction of new roads with the improvement of old ones, with a view to building a network of communications well adapted to the socialist economy of north Viet Nam.

The management of communications and transport must be strengthened, the capacity of all kinds of motorized means of communication must be enhanced ; at the same time, full use of improved rudimentary means of transport must be made in order to guarantee freight traffic and gradually cut transport costs.

The postal network must be developed and consolidated so as to make relations between the centre and the localities, between the localities themselves and between our country and other countries rapid, accurate, safe and punctual.

As for home trade, it is necessary to develop State and co-operative trade in conformity to the scale of industrial and agricultural production, to achieve a clear division of responsibilities and close co-operation between these two departments of trade, to enhance the leadership of State trade over co-operative trade, with a view to promoting fully the role of both departments in the establishment and consolidation of the unified socialist market. It is necessary to expand, adjust and arrange in all respects the socialist trade network, to improve business management and trading methods, thereby giving effective service to production and consumption.

Thanks to the establishment and consolidation of a unified socialist market, we have favourable conditions for the planned execution of State purchasing and distribution. It is necessary to help the peasants to see it as their duty to sell farm products to the State, and to apply systems of purchase according to contracts signed between the State purchasing organs and the agricultural co-operatives. As for industrial products, we must also apply the system of contracts for the sale of raw materials and the purchase of products. Concerning supply, efforts must be made to meet the growing needs of the people and at the same time, concrete plans must be drawn up on the basis of the real situation in production to guide all and

sundry to practise economy in consumption. Trade must make an active contribution to the promotion of production, and on the basis of the development of production, we must continue to stabilize prices, re-adjust those that are still irrational and struggle together with other economic departments for price reduction on certain goods.

In conditions of the completion of socialist transformation, and the establishment and consolidation of the unified socialist market, it is necessary and possible to let the free market continue to exist within certain limits under the leadership of State trade. This is in conformity with the present actual conditions of our country and constitutes an encouragement to the co-operatives and their members to intensify production.

In foreign trade, we must grasp firmly the main point, which is to drive forward exports with a view to intensifying home production, developing the sources for the acquisition of foreign currencies required by the industrialization of our country, enhancing our relations with foreign countries and raising the position of Viet Nam in the international arena. In promoting exports, attention must be paid to the development of the production of those goods that can be sold abroad (agricultural, mineral, handicraft products, etc.). The work of State purchasing, of storing and of transporting these goods must be improved and there must be a correct policy for home consumption in relation to sales to foreign countries.

To ensure the completion of socialist transformation and the initial laying of the material and technical

foundations of socialism, we have to make very big capital investments. The more agriculture and industry develop, the more the national income increases; and the more conditions prevail for the increase of the financial reserves of the State as well as of the capacities of the co-operatives in accumulating capital. The task of our financial department is to strive to increase the sources of revenue on the basis of a strongly promoted production and of the developed circulation of goods; on this basis it must strengthen management and the control of expenditures, and promote the efficiency of the utilization of capital, with a view to meeting the demands of the development of economic and cultural construction. Efforts must be exerted to raise income in order to create conditions for the raising of expenditure and to ensure, in an active way, the balance of income and expenditure. Our need for expenditure is great, but as our possibilities are limited, in the allocation and use of funds, we must ensure that all necessary departments are supplied and at the same time that focal points exist and that an appropriate balance is observed between the various departments.

We must strengthen our financial management, gradually bringing it under a fixed system and strict discipline. We must practise stringent economy and combat waste and corruption in all departments of activity. The practice of economy is a major economic and financial policy in the socialist system. We must educate our cadres, personnel and people and permeate them with the sense of their personal responsibility in national construction, to make them heighten their

spirit of respect for State and co-operative property and their sense of the need to make rational use of and to be economical in handling the funds of the State and the co-operatives.

In the socialist construction in the North, economic construction in the mountainous areas has very great importance. The mountainous areas are many times as large as the plains ; moreover, they have rich natural resources ; therefore the economy we build in the mountainous areas will not only help to raise constantly the material and cultural standards of our compatriots there, but at the same time will complement the economy of the plains, give an impetus to economic development in the plains and constitute a very important contribution to the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism in the North. Construction in the mountainous areas is first and foremost an economic problem, its aim is to use the rich possibilities of the mountainous areas in the strengthening of the economy of the whole North and the raising of the living standards of our compatriots of the national minorities.

The question of economic construction in the mountainous areas is an integral part of our Party's policy towards the nationalities in the new stage of the revolution. It ensures that the highlands will gradually catch up with the plains, that the minority people will catch up with the majority people, and that complete equality will be realized and unity strengthened among the nationalities. It conforms to the closest interests of the mountain people, and also to

the closest interests of all the toiling people of north Viet Nam.

On the basis of the completion of socialist transformation in the mountainous areas, in combination with the completion of democratic reforms in places where these reforms are necessary, we must vigorously develop agriculture in the highlands : promote the production of foodstuffs, develop cattle-breeding on a large scale, establish State farms specializing in the cultivation of industrial crops and fruit-trees, at the same time encourage agricultural co-operatives to rear animals; to grow industrial crops and fruit-trees. We must strive to develop forestry, protect forests, carry out afforestation, exploit forest products and establish State forest enterprises. We must expand the existing industrial areas, create conditions for the building of new ones and encourage State farms and State forest enterprises to build local industries, especially industries processing the products of cultivation, livestock-breeding, forestry, etc.

To promote the development of agriculture and industry in mountainous areas, we must attach special importance to the development of communications and transport and to the promotion of trade. As far as communications and transport are concerned, not only must we build many highroads and big waterways to meet the requirements of transport of industrial areas, State farms, State forestry enterprises, and big co-operatives, but we must also pay attention to the development of smaller communication ways. As regards trade, on the one hand we must ensure the supply of necessary goods the volume of which will increase

with the development of the highland economy ; on the other, we must ensure outlets for local products, thus causing the highlands' economic life gradually to become prosperous and contributing to raising the living standards of our compatriots of the national minorities.

In the course of developing the economy of the mountainous areas, we must pay due attention to the difference between lower and higher zones, in order to have plans and measures fitting each zone. In the lower zones, we can develop agriculture and industry according to the direction explained above. But in the higher zones, there must be plans to help develop such appropriate departments as cattle-breeding, forest exploitation and exploitation of products of the soil etc., at the same time, settling the population in fixed places and bringing them to cultivate crops in fixed fields, achieving step by step the transfer of population to lower zones, helping the people to develop agriculture and handicrafts and to organize their life, thereby gradually creating favourable conditions for compatriots in higher zones to catch up with those in lower zones.

The powerful development of socialist economy in the mountainous areas demands that an appropriate solution be found for the problem of increasing the available manpower in the mountainous areas. This is a very big task of mobilization and organization to be undertaken by our Party and Government in the coming period. We must have plans to combine the forces of the State with those of the co-operatives for the transfer of part of the manpower in the plains countryside to the midland and highland areas for the

development of these areas. Stimulating their patriotism, we must organize the transfer of hundreds of thousands of people from the plains to the mountainous areas to work in industry and agriculture, building industrial zones, State farms and State forest enterprises, devoting their strength and their talents to the cause of the Fatherland and its growing prosperity. If this work is carried out successfully, the development of socialist economy in the mountainous areas will certainly be guaranteed.

Together with the transfer of people from the plains to the mountainous areas and the development of industrial zones there, we will step by step build new towns in the highlands, and transform these towns into economic and cultural centres, stimulating the progressive modernization of the life of the national minorities.

Comrades,

In the First Five Year Plan period, hand in hand with economic development and in order to serve economic development, in the cultural sphere, educational, cultural, scientific, medical, physical educational and sports work, etc. has to be prosecuted vigorously. Each department must have effective plans, in the five years to come, to carry out the basic directions mentioned in the section of this report dealing with ideological, cultural and technical revolution. We wish now to present some more views on the problems of educational and cultural work and scientific research.

Concerning education, the main task at present is complementary education, it aims at laying a basis for the promotion of ideological and political education among the toiling people, the training on a large scale of cadres for economic and cultural work, and the expansion of the work of popularizing science and technique. In five years, the cultural standard of the cadres, especially of leading cadres at all levels, and that of the workers, peasants and army men, must reach a new high level.

As regards general education, it is necessary to develop and to improve the quality of infant schools and kindergarten classes, to achieve the universal application of primary education in the plains to complete the eradication of illiteracy and make preparations to advance towards the general application of primary education in the mountainous areas ; to develop junior secondary and senior secondary education in a planned way, paying attention to both quantity and quality. We must actively combine study and teaching with productive labour in general education schools, build schools for both general and vocational education. Efforts should be made to meet the needs in teachers, class rooms, equipment and textbooks in order to guarantee the quality of general education.

We must strengthen the university and develop the middle and higher vocational education department, devise ways and means of improving the content of study and for the time being shortening the period of studies wherever necessary and possible in order to achieve the early supply of cadres for economic and cultural development.

Along with the training and fostering of teachers for universities, higher and middle vocational schools, we must strengthen the material foundations (equipment, scientific books and papers, etc.,) of these institutions, thus ensuring the good results of study and teaching.

Concerning culture, in the next five years, we must develop our cultural work in all respects, with emphasis on the main things. Publication and library work must receive particular attention. We must publish a great many textbooks, books of popularization, and at the same time promote the publication of Marxist-Leninist classical works. We must expand existing libraries, establish a number of new libraries and reading-rooms in the industrial zones, townships and big co-operatives, and promote a mass movement for the reading of newspapers and books. Concerning film work, we must strongly develop the production of various kinds of films, on the basis of the raising of their ideological and artistic value. The number of mobile cinema groups is to be increased for the countryside, mountainous areas, construction sites and farms.

As regards science, scientific research and the popularization of science must be closely linked with the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism and with the completion of socialist transformation.

Agricultural science must attend to and go deeply into the study of the soil and soil improvement work, the selection of seeds and strains, the study of measures for the improvement of agricultural techniques ; the

study of fertilizers and methods of their use, as well as the study of measures for the elimination of crop insects and the checking of epidemics in livestock.

Technological science must start immediately to study in a systematic way the question of tropicalization technology in order to devise means to combat the bad effects of tropical conditions on machines and equipment ; to study technological problems peculiar to our country ; to study home materials and raw materials and to seek out those that can be used to replace certain imported raw materials ; to study the application of foreign technical standards, regulations and technological processes to the conditions of our country, and to advance towards the establishment of a system of technical standards, regulations and technological processes suitable to our country, etc.

Geological science must take as its central task the work of prospecting and studying the resources of the subsoil and discover mineral deposits required by industrial development.

Medical science must pay attention to the study of malaria, trachoma, intestinal parasites, current epidemics and occupational diseases ; the study of effective measures for the protection of the health of mothers and children, the study of the causes of diseases and deaths in childbirth and infant mortality ; the study of the sources of medicinal materials from the vegetation of our country ; the study of the kinds of food and food standards suitable for tropical conditions, etc.

We must co-ordinate the forces of the various departments of natural science to carry out basic

research, with a view to serving the elaboration of economic plans.

The departments of social science and philosophy must devote their efforts to the study of the development of north Viet Nam's economic base and superstructure during the period of transition to socialism ; they must also push forward the collection and arrangement of documents on the actual situation of our country, as well as the documents representing our national heritage in philosophy and social science. At the same time, it is necessary to struggle resolutely against non-proletarian viewpoints and ideas in the North and to analyse, criticize and defeat reactionary theories that the U.S. imperialists and their agents are spreading in the South.

Together with the promotion of research work, we must strive to popularize, in a systematic manner and with focal points, the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental understanding of each department of social science from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, thus contributing to the development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the communist conception of life among the cadres and toiling people. To fulfil this task, we must attach importance to the publication of the various kinds of textbooks and of books of popularization.

Comrades,

The First Five-Year Plan is a programme of action of all our Party and people, aimed at the initial laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism

in north Viet Nam. Relying on the triumph of the national people's democratic revolution, and on the big achievements of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North, our entire Party and people must make every effort, must struggle for the successful fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan.

First of all, we must resolve a very important problem, that of the training and fostering of cadres for economic construction and of skilled workers, on a large scale. Naturally, the training of other categories of cadres must also receive due consideration, and concrete plans must be worked out to realize it; but here we want to emphasize the problem of cadres for economic construction, who are needed in the greatest numbers, and who now are most lacking.

We must have a long-range plan to train and foster cadres for economic construction and skilled workers, not only to serve the First Five-Year Plan, but also to prepare for future plans. The main direction for the training of cadres is to train a great number of managerial and technical cadres for the departments of paramount importance in the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, such as industry, agriculture, capital construction, water conservancy and soil improvement and communications and transport, etc.. At the same time, we must train as many as possible skilled workers, especially engineering and metallurgical workers.

In the training of cadres, we must speedily train a great number of middle and high-level cadres. Alongside vocational training, very great importance

must be attached to the political and ideological education and to the development of cadres in revolutionary ethics, so that our body of cadres for economic construction may comprise people of staunch political quality and high professional qualifications. We must pay attention to the training of cadres from among national minorities, from among the women, and from among our Southern compatriots. Alongside the training of new cadres, we must raise the political, ideological and vocational level of existing managerial and technical cadres and work out plans to use them rationally.

The training method consists in combining training at home with training in the brother countries, training at school with training in enterprise and office. We must devise such a method of training as will ensure quality while shortening the training period, so that the present requirements of economic and cultural development may be met without delay. To train skilled workers on a large scale, we must take advantage of their daily work and of the classes organized for them outside working hours to train and foster them in the enterprises, construction sites or farms themselves, while opening vocational schools attached to such productive units. Besides, we must send workers abroad to study those branches or professions for the teaching of which we lack the conditions at home.

To ensure the successful fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan, we must strive to strengthen Party leadership combined with the launching of a widespread patriotic emulation movement among the workers,

peasants, intellectuals, and the other sections of the people.

Party leadership must be strengthened in the ideological and organizational field and in the political line. Concerning leadership in ideology, we must deploy every effort to popularize the Party's general line for the period of transition to socialism, constantly to raise the socialist consciousness of the cadres and the masses, to stimulate the patriotism and socialist enthusiasm of the people at large, to promote the spirit of boldness in thought and action, resolutely to combat all ideas of hesitation and conservatism, to enhance fighting spirit in all tasks and to promote a mass movement for self-sacrificing labour in the interests of socialist construction and the struggle for national reunification. The ideological work carried out by the Party among the masses must be closely linked with life, it must aim effectively at raising the people's enthusiasm in labour and at driving forward production, and it must help effectively in solving the diverse ideological preoccupations arising in the minds of the people in the course of their productive labour. Only through the actual experience of the masses and through their activity in production and struggle can we imbue the masses with socialist ideology.

Concerning leadership in the political line, we must in good time study and issue concrete policies conforming to the powerful development of the socialist relations of production and of the productive forces. Over the last few years, our leadership as regards political line has often not been timely, and this is due in large measure to the fact that we had not grasped very

strongly or firmly the development of the actual situation. In the years to come, our work in socialist construction and in the completion of socialist transformation will progress quickly, and many new, difficult and complex problems will arise and demand solution ; if we do not take steps to ensure that Party organizations at all levels, from the primary units to the Central Committee, grasp firmly the actual situation of the movement in its development, our leadership as regards the political line will be tardy and this will have an unhealthy influence on the tempo of the movement.

It is also very necessary to strengthen Party leadership in organization. On the basis of the strengthening of leading organs at all levels and in all departments, we must on the one hand put into practice the division of responsibility between the various levels under the unified leadership of the centre, and on the other hand, achieve close co-ordination and co-operation between the various departments. At present, we still encounter difficulties in the problem of division of responsibility between the various levels ; we must go deeply into the study of actual conditions and learn from the experiences of the brother countries to devise measures to resolve this problem in an all-sided and systematic manner. At present, between the various departments, there is as yet no close co-ordination and co-operation ; certain departments know only of their own existence, not the existence of other departments, or they achieve co-ordination and co-operation with other departments only in a formal way ; this state of

looseness has been the cause of such great waste ! We must resolutely put an end to this state of things.

The State Plan is a law. But to put this law into effect, we must necessarily follow the mass line. Revolution is the cause of the people under the leadership of the Party ; why should the cause of fulfilling the State Plan not be theirs as well ? We have to follow the mass line in agriculture, in industry, in capital construction, in communications and transport, in trade, in cultural, educational and scientific work, etc., in short in all revolutionary tasks.

We must mobilize the material and moral forces of the masses of workers, peasants and other sections of the people, and promote a seething, widespread, continuous and powerful patriotic emulation movement.

We must sum up experiences concerning the organization and leadership of the patriotic emulation movement over the past years to improve and enhance the organization and leadership of the patriotic emulation movement in enterprises, on construction sites, farms, etc.. We must advance towards the organization of brigades and teams of socialist labour in order to make the emulation movement collective and habitual.

Keeping pace with our work in technical education among the masses, the emulation movement must be gradually guided towards the spheres of improvement of technique, improvement of labour organization, etc., to take it to a still higher level, thereby intensifying the rhythm of development of socialist revolution in north Viet Nam.

The First Five-Year Plan is a very important step taken by our people on the road to socialism. It

will have great influence on the reunification of the country. Its fulfilment demands of our people in north Viet Nam very great efforts in both the material and moral spheres. Can we discharge this momentous task? Surely we can! We were victorious over the French colonialist aggressors and the American interventionists and their henchmen. We were victorious over the terrible damage occasioned by the 15 years of war and have restored and developed the economy of the North. We are also winning victory on the front of socialist transformation. We will enter the First Five-Year Plan in this spirit of victory. The Party calls on the whole Party and the entire people to strive to develop to the utmost the spirit of victory, to promote the patriotic emulation movement, to resolutely overcome all difficulties and hardships, and to struggle indefatigably for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Plan.

V

STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC STATE, CONSOLIDATION OF THE POLITICAL AND MORAL UNITY OF THE PEOPLE IN NORTH VIET NAM

Dear Comrades,

In socialist transformation and socialist construction in north Viet Nam and in our struggle for national

reunification, our people have a sharp weapon — the people's democratic State.

Our people's democratic State has passed through 15 years of glorious history. It was born and grew up in the fires of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and has very great strength. Under the leadership of our Party, it carried strongly forward the achievements of the August Revolution, united the whole people, waged the resistance for national salvation, defeated the French colonialist aggressors and shattered the plot of the U.S. interventionists to prolong and expand the Indo-China war ; it mobilized and organized the people for the carrying out of democratic reforms, especially the land reform, which suppressed the feudal system of land ownership and translated into reality the slogan ' Land to the Tillers '.

Following the victory of the Resistance and the complete liberation of the North, the people's democratic State has the task of leading north Viet Nam to socialism, making of north Viet Nam a firm and strong base for the struggle for national reunification. It is discharging the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat ; it constitutes the main instrument of the working class and the toiling people of our country in transforming the old society and people sprung from the old society and in building up a new society and a new people.

Under the leadership of our Party, the people's democratic State has the task of safeguarding national independence, of foiling every scheme of sabotage and provocation of the U.S. — Diem clique, and repressing underground counter-revolutionaries, their agents in

the North ; of struggling for the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements and the peaceful reunification of the country ; of carrying out widespread education and organization and guiding the people in fulfilling the plans for economic construction and cultural development and achieving socialist transformation and socialist construction ; of building and consolidating the political and moral unity of the people ; of ensuring the constant improvement of the people's material and cultural life ; of defending the legitimate rights of Vietnamese nationals in foreign countries ; of enhancing international solidarity with the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and of making an active contribution to the struggle of the peoples of various countries for national independence, peace and democracy.

Our people's democratic State is a genuinely democratic State. The more our socialist transformation and socialist construction are successfully developed, and the more the democratic life of the toiling people is broadened, the more the role of the State is strengthened and consolidated. The new Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam adopted by the National Assembly at the end of 1959 is a constitution of socialist type. It guarantees all the broad democratic rights of the labouring people. After the new constitution was approved, our people held elections to the new National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The National Assembly comprises the best representatives of the workers, peasants, army men, patriotic and progressive intellectuals, democratic

parties and people's organizations, nationalities, religions and democratic personalities. The People's councils at all levels have also in turn been re-elected. The new National Assembly recently held its first session and elected the leading organs of the State. The power of the National Assembly, of the People's Councils at all levels and of the leading organs of the State elected by the National Assembly, is the power of the people. Representing the firm will and inexhaustible wisdom of the people, these organs are entirely capable of leading socialist revolution in the North and the struggle for national reunification to splendid success.

The strength of our people's democratic State springs from the strength of the people. If it is to enhance its strength constantly and to ensure the victory of socialist construction in the North and the struggle for national reunification, the people's democratic State must attach importance to the development of the people's spirit of being masters of the country; it must strive to defend and promote democratic rights, help the people to raise their political and cultural levels, and to foster and develop their abilities in running the country. That is why the problem of safeguarding the democratic character of the State, and of broadening democracy among the people, is not only the duty of the State, but also a problem related to the very existence and development of the State itself. Only if we fully possess this conception will we be resolute in guaranteeing the democratic rights of the people and in combating all actions violating their democratic rights; only thus will we be resolute in seeking all means of broadening democracy and in

opposing all tendencies to restrict democracy ; only thus will we be resolute in defending and strengthening people's democratic legality in our country, while endeavouring to educate the people to abide voluntarily by the laws of the State.

Our people's democratic State is a genuinely democratic State and at the same time a State of firm dictatorship. To ensure the victory of the socialist revolution and of the struggle for national reunification, to guarantee the interests of the toiling people, to ensure order and security, the people's democratic State, relying upon the support of the people, must practise dictatorship against counter-revolutionaries and severely punish those who sabotage socialist transformation, socialist construction and the struggle for national reunification.

At present, the U. S. imperialists and the reactionary feudalists and compradore bourgeois who rule over south Viet Nam, are constantly plotting to restore the colonial and feudal regime in north Viet Nam. They are seeking by all ways and means to introduce spies and commandos into the North to collude with the anti-socialist forces there, especially with reactionaries hiding under the cloak of religion and those among the exploiting classes in an attempt to sabotage our people's revolutionary cause and to serve their scheme of unleashing an aggressive war. The U. S. - Diem agents in the North are trying by all means to collect intelligence, establish secret bases, carry out psychological warfare and sabotage work in all fields. Our people's democratic State and our whole people must constantly heighten their vigilance, be resolute in

repressing the counter-revolutionaries and stand ready to shatter every manœuvre of the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen. At the same time, due attention must be paid to the protection of the organs and organizations of the Party, State, Army and mass associations ; endeavours must be made to safeguard State secrets.

The struggle against the counter-revolutionaries is an arduous, bitter, complex and protracted struggle. To ensure the good outcome of this struggle, we must thoroughly grasp the spirit of determination and cautiousness, and the guiding principles of enhancing vigilance, not missing any enemy, guarding against deviations, harming no innocent person, correctly putting into practice the policy of repression combined with leniency, punishment combined with education with a view utterly to isolating the obstinate ring-leaders and shattering the ranks of the counter-revolutionaries. For the past years, generally speaking, we have been resolute in repressing the counter-revolutionaries in activity, paving the way for socialist transformation and socialist construction. But at certain times and certain places, this struggle has not received due attention. Manifestations of lack of vigilance and rightism still exist. We must endeavour to oppose such manifestations and strengthen even more the maintenance of order and security. At the same time, we must also avoid leftist tendencies which consist in not seeing the complex and long-term character of the repression of counter-revolutionaries.

The people's democratic State must be resolute in enforcing dictatorship if it is to fulfil its historic task.

To ensure dictatorship, the State must not only use revolutionary law to punish enemy elements, but also political and ideological struggle to destroy them. On the one hand, the State must attach importance to consolidating national defence, consolidating the people's armed and semi-armed forces, perfecting the people's public security organs, tribunals and people's control offices, which are its sharp weapons in strengthening dictatorship. On the other hand, the State must mobilize and organize the masses of the people to carry out political struggle to repress counter-revolutionaries and ideological struggle to educate backward elements.

In the situation of the division of our country, in which the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys have turned south Viet Nam into a colony of a new type and a military base of the U.S. and are increasing their military strength and preparing for an aggressive war, the people's democratic State must constantly attend to the task of consolidating the defence forces, the core of which is the Viet Nam People's Army. Under the exclusive leadership of our Party, the Viet Nam People's Army scored heroic achievements in the period of resistance and has made big contributions to the safeguarding of the peaceful labour of the people, and in participating actively in economic and cultural development. The Viet Nam People's Army has established fine traditions : heroism in fighting, diligence in labour, unity of mind between officers and men, solidarity between the army and people. Our Party and people are extremely proud of the high revolutionary qualities of the Viet Nam People's Army ; we will exert even more efforts to consolidate the People's Army, to

make of it a regular and modern army, while endeavouring to build reserve forces, to reinforce the Army, to strengthen the militia and self-defence forces, and to consolidate national defence hand in hand with economic and cultural development, to make of north Viet Nam the firm bastion of the revolution throughout the country.

In order that the people's democratic State may fulfil its tasks, it is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the organs of State especially at the commune level. More capable cadres with a high sense of responsibility must be allocated to these organs. We must raise the understanding of cadres and personnel of State organs of the nature and present tasks of the State, above all of the tasks of educating and organizing the masses, of managing economic construction and cultural development ; we must encourage the cadres and personnel of State organs to study with a view to raising the level of their leadership and their capacity in economic and cultural management. All cadres of State organs, in whatever position they may be, must raise their sense of responsibility as servants of the people, wholeheartedly serving the people, practising the virtues of diligence, thrift, integrity, righteousness, full devotion to the general interests, and selflessness. The State must severely punish such cadres as take advantage of their position to violate the interests of the people and to infringe the laws of the State ; at the same time it must commend those who show merit in work and have high revolutionary morality.

The role of State organs at all levels must be strengthened, and the system of democratic centralism

must be correctly put into practice in the life of State organs. All statutes, laws and regulations of the State must be strictly applied by State organs at all levels. The State Plan having the force of law, all State organs must scrupulously observe it and ensure its strict observance by all concerned. On the basis of the strengthening of the centralized and unified leadership of the Central Government, the division of responsibility in management between different levels must be carried out step by step, thus helping to promote the initiative, creativeness and sense of responsibility of all levels and departments in the management of their activities.

The people's democratic State must attach particular attention to the strengthening of its links with the masses and exert every effort to combat bureaucracy. It is necessary to guarantee the correct exercise of the responsibilities and rights of elected organs vis-à-vis the administrative organs at all levels, to promote control from above and from below and to stimulate the masses to participate widely and regularly in the supervision of the work of cadres and State organs, to reveal shortcomings and mistakes in time and to help remedy them. We must endeavour to promote the activity and creativeness of the masses in the management of State affairs. State organs must keep close ties with mass organizations and rely firmly upon them above all the Trade Unions, the Labour Youth Union and the Women's Union, in mobilizing the strength of the masses to participate in economic and cultural construction and in the strengthening of the people's democratic State.

The people's democratic State can only be strengthened when it firmly relies upon the people, accepts the supervision of the people and receives the leadership of the Party of the working class. Only under the leadership of the Party can the State carry out the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must unceasingly strengthen the Party's leadership over the people's democratic State. We must perfect the leading nuclei of the Party in State organs to ensure close Party leadership. Party members working in State organs must unite with non-Party cadres, respect them, learn from them, and help them fulfil their tasks.

Comrades,

During the First Five-Year Plan period, socialist transformation will be completed in the North, and the first step in the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism will also be made. The number of workers will increase rapidly. Almost all the peasants, handicraftsmen and small traders will become collective working people. The contingent of intellectuals will be replenished by a new category of people from among the toilers. As a result, the social base of the people's democratic State will be broadened ; the alliance between the working class and the other strata of the labouring people, especially between the workers and the peasants, will be consolidated, to the benefit of the development of the socialist revolution. But on the other hand, we must fully grasp the fact that, in the ranks of the working class, most come from among the

peasantry and the various sections of the city petty-bourgeoisie ; there are young people lacking in experience and not yet fully tempered in the revolutionary spirit of the working class. Likewise the peasants, handicraftsmen and small traders, although they have become collective working people, have not entirely shed the ideology and style of work of people carrying on business individually, since they have only recently taken the path of co-operation. The intelligentsia still bears the disastrous influence of bourgeois education, and still has bad habits from the old society. To consolidate the social base and powerfully promote the role of the people's democratic State in the North, we must endeavour to educate the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen and small traders who have been organized, and to educate the new intellectuals as well as those trained under the old regime, so as to further enhance the political and moral unity of the working people in the North.

Over recent years, developing its glorious revolutionary traditions, the working class of north Viet Nam has been in the forefront of the economic restoration and development, it has enthusiastically participated in the patriotic emulation movement, actively developed its initiative, improved technique, driven production forward and practised economy. In the future, to further raise the leading of the working class, we must attach special importance to giving the workers ideological and political education, enhancing their consciousness of their position and responsibility as leaders, as well as their duty to maintain and consolidate their alliance with the working peasantry. At the same time,

we must endeavour to foster the workers culturally and technically. The ranks of the working class in our country growing more and more homogeneous, the cultural and technical level of the workers higher and higher, our workers will have more and more possibilities to promote to the full their vanguard role in socialist industrialization and socialist construction. Hand in hand with the strengthening of education given to the workers, Party leadership of the workers' movement must be strengthened, the position of the trade-unions in all social activities must be raised, to make the trade-unions real schools of economic and State management, and of socialism and communism. The trade-union organizations must be strengthened and the capacity of trade-union cadres raised to help the unions in State enterprises and joint State-private enterprises to take part effectively in the management of production and in the improvement of the conditions of the material and cultural life of the toiling masses. There must be trade-union representatives in the economic organs.

The working peasantry constitutes a big revolutionary force of our country. Under the leadership of our Party, the working peasants are playing an extremely important part in the socialist revolution. The victory of the socialist revolution in the North cannot be separated from the correct leadership of the working class represented by our Party ; nor can it be separated from the conscious and active participation of the millions of working peasants closely allied to the workers. In order constantly to strengthen the worker peasant alliance and the Party leadership over the

working peasantry, we must possess a thorough conception of the role of the working peasantry in our country in the socialist revolution and must have a correct line and policy towards the peasants. We must take the greatest care of them, help them by every means to develop collective economy and production and to improve their material and cultural life. At the same time, we must push forward their education in socialist ideology, gradually to raise the consciousness of the peasants to the level of that of the workers. Our policies concerning the peasants must take into due consideration their immediate interests combined with their lasting interests in order to win their sympathy and support, and to stimulate them to advance vigorously on the path of socialism.

In regard to the handicraftsmen and small traders who have been organized, we must help them to develop their collective economy, at the same time we must push ahead their education in socialist ideology, help them to fight against the vestiges of the ideology of the old society in their minds.

The re-education and fostering of the old intellectuals and the training of new intellectuals represent important tasks of the Party and the State in the socialist revolution. Through ideological re-education and enhancement, the Party and the State will help patriotic intellectuals entirely devoted to the service of the workers and peasants and socialism to play to the full their active role in the building of the new society. At the same time, the Party and the State attach great importance to training a large body of new intellectuals sprung from the workers and peasants and

from the toiling people, to make the ranks of intellectuals of the working class ever stronger. The Party and the State pay constant attention to the encouragement of intellectuals in their research, teaching, creation and invention and endeavour to provide them with the conditions required for their work.

Among the toiling people, the youth and women play an important role in the socialist revolution in north Viet Nam and in the struggle for national reunification.

The youth of our country have proved their self-sacrificing spirit and their heroism in the resistance and in peaceful labour. The youth are the generation of the builders of socialism and will be the builders of communism in our country. Our Party must attach paramount importance to educating and training the young generation to become fighters faithful to the Fatherland, to socialism and communism, ready to display all the ardour of their years in building the new society. More importance must be attached to the education of adolescents and children, the burgeoning flowers of the Fatherland.

The Labour Youth Union has proved worthy of its role as the right hand of the Party. We must consolidate and develop it more powerfully and promote its role to the full in the mobilization and organization of the youth in the implementation of the policies of the Party and the Government.

The women constitute an important force in the revolution and in production. Our Party — the Party of the working class — has a very heavy responsibility

in the cause of the emancipation of women and the promotion of their rich potentialities in the building of a new society. We must have plans to effectively foster the women ideologically, to raise their cultural and technical levels, to help them gradually to free themselves from the burden of household work, to use their labour in a rational way, so that they may participate in production and in social activities in increasingly large numbers, thereby enhancing continually their role in the management of production and of State affairs.

At the same time, ideas and habits of oppression of women and disdainful attitude towards them left over from the old regime must be perseveringly opposed.

Under the leadership of the Party the Women's Union has recorded many achievements in uniting and mobilizing the various sections of women of our country to take part in the resistance for national salvation and in socialist construction. It must continue to unite the broad strata of patriotic and progressive women, to educate and stimulate them to devote their strength and capacity to the building of the new system and the new life of the Nation.

In the course of our history of many thousand years, the minority peoples united with the majority people in the struggle against foreign invaders, to build and defend the country. Over the past thirty years, especially in the period of the Second World War and in the nine years of the Resistance, under the leadership of our Party, the minority peoples fought heroically shoulder to shoulder with the majority people, against imperialism, for national liberation ;

they are at present struggling for the building of socialism and for national reunification. It is clear that the minority peoples have played a worthy part in the revolutionary cause of our people.

Comrades,

In north Viet Nam there are many ethnic minorities.

The revolution has brought many great changes in their life, the people's power has been set up in the mountainous areas, the privileges and special interests of the feudalists have been in the main abolished; the overwhelming bulk of the land has been returned to the working peasants and the living conditions of the minorities have seen an initial improvement. Owing to uneven historical development there still exist differences in economic and cultural levels between the plains and the mountainous areas and between the majority nationality and the minority nationalities. Taking the mountainous areas separately, the level of progress and the living standards in the lower and the higher zones also show differences. To consolidate the political and moral unity of our people, we must gradually wipe out this state of things and bring about complete equality among the various nationalities. The Party and the people's democratic State must see to it that the mountainous areas catch up with the plains, that the higher zones and the border areas catch up with the inland areas, and that the minority nationalities catch up with the majority nationality; they must help the nationalities to develop their revolutionary

spirit and their great capacities, and unite closely with one another to advance toward socialism.

An all-sided, long-term plan must be devised to develop economy and culture in the mountainous areas. In the economic field, we must promote industrial and agricultural production, build up industrial zones, develop communications and transport, strengthen socialist trade, etc., bringing about daily improvements in the living conditions of our compatriots in the mountainous areas. In the cultural field, we must continue the eradication of illiteracy, create scripts for the nationalities, bring about the spread of education, develop the national arts and literatures, popularize elementary scientific knowledge, with a view to gradually removing superstitions, and pay attention to health work and develop the disease prevention movement in order to improve the conditions of health of our minority compatriots. We must endeavour to combat manifestations of great nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism and constantly enhance the spirit of solidarity and mutual assistance between the different nationalities.

We must consolidate the existing national minority autonomous regions and build new ones, giving full scope to their role in the strengthening of the solidarity between various nationalities, carrying out political and ideological education, economic and cultural development and maintaining order and security in the mountainous areas.

In the work concerning mountainous areas, great importance must be attached to the higher zones and to the border areas.

Special attention must be given to the training and fostering of a body of national minority cadres, and at the same time to the strengthening of solidarity between national minority cadres and majority cadres working in the mountainous areas. This is the key condition for the correct implementation of the Party's policy on nationalities.

The consolidation of the political and moral unity of our people also requires a further strengthening of the work of uniting various religions and of uniting Catholic and non-Catholic people. The enemies of our people have always used religion to sabotage the revolution. Since the re-establishment of peace and the switch-over to the stage of socialist revolution in the North, they have been utilizing religion still more actively in an attempt to hinder the advance of the revolution. As a result of the correct Party and Government policy on religion, and of generally serious implementation of this policy by our cadres, the solidarity between Catholic and non-Catholic people has been firmly maintained, and the confidence of our religious compatriots in the new system has been constantly consolidated. Our compatriots of various religious beliefs are enthusiastically advancing towards socialism hand in hand with all our compatriots. The schemes and activities of the imperialists and their lackeys to undermine solidarity between Catholic and non-Catholic people have been and are being frustrated. However, reactionary elements using the cloak of religion are still pursuing their counter-revolutionary activities ; we must constantly sharpen our vigilance to oppose them.

In regard to religions, the consistent policy of the Party and the State is : to respect freedom of belief, to unite Catholics and non-Catholics and to unite all patriotic and progressive people of the various religions, with a view to serving the complete liberation of the Fatherland and the common welfare. With regard to reactionary elements who, under the cloak of religion and their agents working against the Fatherland and the people, hindering freedom of belief and dividing Catholic and non-Catholic people, if they refuse to abandon their criminal path, the State must naturally apply the sanctions of the law against them.

To consolidate unity between the various religions and between Catholics and non-Catholics, the Party and the State must pay constant attention to improving the economic and cultural standards of our compatriots of the various religions, raising their political and ideological level, thereby bringing to nothing the enemy's propaganda of distortion and continuously popularizing the line and policies of the Party and the State.

To achieve the political and moral unity of our people, we must also strengthen the work of the Front.

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front comprises the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and democratic personalities ; it takes the worker-peasant alliance at its basis and stands under the leadership of the working class. It has succeeded in uniting all classes, parties, nationalities, religions and patriotic personalities who approve socialism, and as a result has succeeded in mobilizing and organizing all the patriotic and progressive forces of

our nation to build socialism in the North and to struggle for national reunification.

In the Fatherland Front, the friendly political parties have played an active role. By educating and remoulding their members, by carrying out propaganda and agitation among the social strata with which they have connections, the Viet Nam Democratic Party has played a part in helping the industrial and merchant capitalists to accept socialist transformation, and the Viet Nam Socialist Party has played a part in helping the intellectuals to make daily progress and a greater and greater contribution to the cause of building socialism and achieving national reunification. Concerning the Viet Nam Democratic Party and the Viet Nam Socialist Party, our Party constantly unites with them in all sincerity and stands for long-term co-operation and mutual assistance, in order to advance together towards socialism and to complete the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

To strengthen the people's democratic state, to consolidate the political and moral unity of the northern people, is a very important political task aimed at guaranteeing the good results of socialist construction and the completion of socialist transformation in the coming period. Our Party will devote its whole strength and will seek by all means to fulfil this political task successfully in order to lead the North to advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism.

VI

STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY, ACTIVE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE AND CONSOLIDATE WORLD PEACE

Dear Comrades,

The revolutionary struggle of our people to lead the North toward socialism and achieve national reunification constitutes an active part of the struggle for socialism, national independence and world peace. On the one hand, it enjoys the encouragement and support of the general movement in the world ; on the other, it also plays a part in impelling forward the general movement.

We are living in a great era such as has never before been known in the history of mankind. This is an era whose fundamental content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, an era in which socialism has become a world system and has acquired an incontestable superiority in the international arena, an era in which the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace have become stronger than the forces of imperialism, an era in which the world revolutionary movement is developing with extreme power and imperialism is being irrevocably destroyed.

At present, the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union has become a united and powerful bloc of 12 countries with 1,000 million people, i.e. more than one-third of the world's population and

nearly a quarter of the world land surface. The forces of the socialist camp have clearly surpassed those of imperialism in many respects and are today the decisive factor in the development of the world situation. Socialism is showing more and more clearly its superiority and is exerting a stronger and stronger attraction upon the toiling people the world over.

The consistent policy of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries of resolute struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, for the achievement of peaceful coexistence between countries of different political and social systems, and the peace initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp aimed at lessening world tension, bringing about arms reduction, the prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapons and the establishment of systems of collective security in Europe and Asia, etc., have received the general approval of the broad masses throughout the world. As a result of the firm support lent by the socialist camp to the movement for national independence against colonialism, of the disinterested economic and technical assistance given by it to the under-developed countries to achieve the rapid consolidation of their political independence, and of the approval and support it extends to all democratic movements and movements for peace in the capitalist countries, the socialist camp has seen its prestige considerably enhanced among the toiling people, the oppressed nations and the whole of mankind, all peace-loving and progressive people in the world. The people of the world realize more and more clearly that the socialist camp headed by the Soviet

Union is the bastion of world peace and national independence, the most solid mainstay in their fight against aggressive and bellicose imperialism.

The socialist camp is not only strong politically but also has a very solid economic basis. Over recent years, the rhythm of economic development of the socialist countries has by far surpassed that of the capitalist countries. According to recent statistics, from 1950 to 1959, the production of electric power of the socialist camp increased by 200 per cent, while that of the capitalist countries increased by only 97 per cent ; the output of iron and steel of the socialist camp increased by 150 per cent, while that of the capitalist countries increased only by 34 per cent ; the output of coal of the socialist camp increased by 120 per cent, while that of the capitalist countries fell; the output of oil of the socialist camp increased by 230 per cent, while that of the capitalist countries increased only by 74 per cent. The proportion represented by the socialist economy in the world economy is growing daily. The gross industrial output of the socialist camp accounts for more than one-third of that of the whole world. Regarding agriculture, the food production of the socialist camp represents more than 48 per cent of that of the whole world. This extremely powerful development of the socialist camp is a phenomenon unprecedented in history, a phenomenon that can take place only in the period of the triumph of socialism.

In 1959, the people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union overfulfilled the tasks of the first year of the Seven-Year Plan of building communism put forward by the

21st Party Congress. This success announces that the Soviet Union will certainly fulfil the Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule, and that before long, it will hold first place in the world in the production of all goods per capita, ensuring for the Soviet people the highest living standard on earth.

The success of the Seven-Year Plan will mark a big step forward of the Soviet Union on its path of construction of communism, and at the same time will open new prospects for the strengthening of the entire socialist camp in all respects.

With its big leap forward movement, China has successfully fulfilled its second Five-Year Plan in two years. With this rhythm of development, it is estimated that within only ten years, China may catch up with or surpass Great Britain in the production of the main industrial items (it has already done so for some main items), basically complete the building of a comprehensive industrial system and, in the main, accomplish the modernization of industry, agriculture, culture and science.

The other socialist countries have also scored great achievements. Czechoslovakia has fundamentally completed socialist construction and is making active preparations to advance gradually toward communism. Poland, Rumania and Hungary are struggling energetically to catch up or surpass the most developed European capitalist countries within the next ten years. Bulgaria, Korea and Albania are galloping toward socialism. After having successfully completed socialist transformation, the Mongolian people are

accelerating the tempo of their laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism.

In science and technique, the magnificent success of the Soviet Union in the launching of man-made satellites, planets and rockets into cosmic space, and of extremely powerful intercontinental ballistic missiles into the Pacific, and the recent marvellous success of the Soviet Union in the launching of a spaceship carrying living creatures and bringing them safely back to earth, prove the incontestable superiority of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. The achievements of the Soviet Union in science and technique not only heighten considerably the prestige of the socialist camp in the international arena, but also create new favourable conditions for the world's people in their cause of safeguarding and consolidating peace, and opposing the evil schemes of the bellicose imperialists.

The constant powerful development of the political, economic, scientific and technological strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp constitute eloquent testimony of the absolute superiority of socialism over capitalism. The working people and the oppressed nations all over the world see more and more clearly that the socialist camp is the greatest source of confidence and the shining example which encourages them in their struggle for freedom, independence, peace and the happiness of mankind.

The growth of the socialist camp and the rapid awakening of oppressed nations have strongly impelled forward the movement for national liberation in the world. In the past few years, this movement has undergone seething development in Asia, Africa and

Latin America, and has scored continuous successes. The colonial system of imperialism is fast disintegrating. Following the end of the Second World War, more than 1,400 million people have freed themselves from the colonial yoke, and more than 40 countries have recovered their national independence. The peoples still enslaved by colonialism are also struggling in many ways for their liberation. The Algerian people are perseveringly pursuing their heroic struggle against French colonialism, for national independence. The Cuban people have stood up to remove their dependence upon the U.S. imperialists and are resolutely fighting against the new plots of intervention on the part of the U.S. The south Korean people have stood up in powerful upsurge and have overthrown the rule of the reactionary Syngman Rhee clique — lackeys of the U.S. The Congolese people are struggling resolutely against the aggressive Belgian colonialists to defend their newly won independence. In many other African colonial countries, such as Kenya, the Cameroons, etc., the struggle for national liberation is also strongly developed. Following the example of heroic Cuba, the people of many Latin American countries are actively fighting to achieve their age-old and most cherished aspiration, i.e. to liberate themselves from the yoke of enslavement and exploitation of the U.S. imperialists. The successful development of the movement for national independence over the last few years proves that the imperialists, including the U.S. imperialists, are no longer in a position to prevent the total collapse of the colonial system. They can no longer rule the roost in the world as in the past.

We, Vietnamese people, were under French domination for nearly a century ; at present half of our national territory is trampled underfoot by the U.S. imperialists ; therefore we sympathize deeply with the sufferings of the oppressed peoples, and are extremely happy at the successes of the movement for national liberation in the world. We warmly approve and support the just struggle of the peoples of Algeria, Cuba, south Korea, and the Congo, etc. We always support firmly the other oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for freedom and independence.

At present, many nationalist countries which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke, have taken the road of peace and neutrality, and non-adherence to the aggressive military blocs set up by the bellicose imperialists with a view to preparing a new world war. The broad zone of peace comprising the socialist countries and the countries following a policy of peace and neutrality has taken shape and is daily expanding. The movement for national independence is clearly a mighty force for peace, it is actively contributing to the struggle for the safeguarding and consolidation of peace in the world, to tying the hands of the aggressive and bellicose imperialists headed by the U. S. imperialists.

In the capitalist countries, the movement of the working class and the toiling people struggling against the yoke of servitude of the U.S. imperialists, against the reactionary ruling cliques of their own countries, against the atrocious exploitation of the monopoly capitalists, for democratic freedoms, improvement of

living standards, peace and social progress, is also in full swing. The unprecedentedly broad movement of the Japanese working class and people struggling without let-up against the enslavement of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and against the treaty of military alliance between Japan and the U.S., for the suppression of U.S. military bases in Japan, has dealt a heavy blow to the U.S. imperialists and played an important part in the defence of peace in Asia and the world. The struggle of the Turkish people had a decisive effect in the overthrow of the dictatorial reactionary Menderes government, efficient underling of the U.S. in the Near East. The movement of struggle against the danger of a new war, for the prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapons, for arms reduction, etc., is attracting ever more people of various walks of life throughout the world. The forces of the movement for democracy and peace in the various countries are also important forces in defence of peace.

The powerful growth of the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy in the world is driving ahead the process of the inevitable collapse of imperialism. The general crisis of capitalism grows more and more acute. Over the past few years, while socialism was advancing with giant strides, the imperialist countries have encountered many difficulties. Although production in the capitalist world in 1959 was to some extent restored following the economic crisis of 1957-58, the economy of the capitalist countries, especially the U.S., remains unstable and is tending toward a new economic crisis, more general and deeper than the previous one. The economic

hegemony of the U.S. in the capitalist world has begun to be shaken, particularly following the emergence in West Europe of two opposed economic blocs, the Common Market headed by West Germany and France, and the Free Trade Area led by Great Britain. Contradictions between the imperialist powers are more and more manifest.

The above situation proves that today the balance of forces on a world scale has undergone a radical change : the world forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy have carried the day over the forces of bellicose imperialism, and are gradually driving them into isolation. This situation has created real possibilities for preventing a new world war, and these possibilities are increasing with every passing day.

But we cannot forget that imperialism is the source of war ; as long as imperialism exists, mankind will still remain under threat of war. The warlike forces, especially those in the U.S., are still going ahead with their aggressive and warmongering policy. They still endeavour to continue their military build-up and their arms race, to strengthen German militarism, to push ahead the revival of Japanese militarism and to maintain the ' cold war '. The U.2 incident and the recent RB 47 incident concerning U.S. planes intruding into Soviet territory for military reconnaissance purposes have unmasked the warmongering policy of the U.S. imperialists. In the future, too, they will still seek to wreck peace by yet other means. That is why the peace-loving people all over the world must constantly heighten their vigilance and

further concentrate their efforts in the struggle to safeguard and consolidate peace.

The warlike forces headed by the U.S. imperialists are trying by every means to maintain a tense situation in Asia with the aim of putting into effect their scheme of aggression. In particular, in South-east Asia, they are striving to build and reinforce military bases, to consolidate the aggressive S.E.A.T.O. military bloc and to push forward the arms race. In regard to nationalist countries, the imperialists are manoeuvring to split the national fronts, inciting the bourgeois governments in these countries to oppose communism and to restrict or abolish the democratic rights won by the people. They are actively scheming by means of bribery, threats and subversion to compel the Governments of these countries to give up their policy of peace and neutrality. They seize every opportunity to sow discord between nationalist countries and the socialist countries, especially China, because with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, China constitutes the solid bastion of world peace and national independence.

In Indo-China, the U.S. imperialists have turned the South of our country, and are continuing their manoeuvres to turn Laos into a U.S. military base. They cynically sabotage the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, continue to introduce arms, ammunition and military personnel into south Viet Nam and Laos, and brazenly place Laos, Cambodia and south Viet Nam within the protection area of the aggressive S.E.A.T.O. bloc. They plot to undermine the policy of peace and neutrality of Cambodia, and incite the

reactionary pro-U.S. forces in Laos to unleash civil war and to launch provocations on the Viet Nam-Laos frontiers. Together with the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, they are actively preparing for a new war.

The forces of Japanese militarism, revived thanks to the help of the U.S. imperialists, are playing a particularly dangerous role. The newly revised Japan-U.S. 'Security' Treaty shows clearly that Japan has been included in the U.S. nuclear strategic system, has become a U.S. base in Asia for a nuclear war against the socialist camp and other countries, and a U.S. centre of supply of arms and ammunition for the aggressive S.E.A.T.O. bloc. This treaty also shows that a new step has been taken in the plot of aggression and expansion of the U.S. and Japan in South-east Asia.

The U.S. imperialists are the most cruel enemies of the peace-loving people throughout the world. The recent hysterical activities of the U.S. warmongers and their henchmen aimed at sabotaging the consolidation of peace reflect their extremely reactionary and bellicose nature. The greatest task of the people throughout the world is to fight energetically to safeguard and consolidate peace and to oppose the war-mongering schemes of the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists. The Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in November 1957 has pointed out : " Peace and peaceful co-existence are now being demanded by the broadest masses in all countries. The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. Together with

all the peace-loving forces, they will do their best to prevent war. ”

To safeguard peace and prevent a new world war, we must unite all forces defending peace in the world into a powerful peace front, isolate completely the bellicose forces headed by the U.S., achieve peaceful co-existence between countries of different political and social systems, abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and respect the right of different nations to independence ; we must ensure democracy and peace for all countries, the implementation of arms reduction, the prohibition of atomic weapons, and the liquidation of military bases in foreign territory and of military aggressive blocs, and advance toward the establishment of systems of collective security in Europe and in Asia. As the Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries has pointed out, unity of the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy in the world “could prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of everything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction ; for the peoples will no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices. ”

The nature of socialism is peace. The socialist countries need peace to concentrate their efforts on economic and cultural development and on the improvement of the living conditions of the toiling people. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the nucleus of the forces fighting for the great cause of the

defence and consolidation of peace. Our Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the socialist camp ; it is our duty to play an active part in the common struggle for the defence and consolidation of world peace.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a socialist country in South-east Asia. It occupies an important international position in Indo-China and in South-east Asia. Faced with the manoeuvres of war provocation and of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, we have the responsibility of seeking every means to maintain and consolidate peace in Indo-China and in South-east Asia, and to contribute to the strengthening of the national liberation movement and to the consolidation of the socialist camp. To fulfil this task, on the one hand our people must endeavour to struggle for the building and consolidation of the socialist North and for the observance and full implementation of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China in Viet Nam as well as in Laos and in Cambodia ; on the other hand we must promote the revolutionary struggle in the South to defeat the schemes of the U.S. and Diem aimed at turning the South into a colony of a new type and a military base of the U. S., and to liberate the South from the reactionary rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. At the same time, our people must combine their efforts with those of the peoples of Asia in the fight for the abolition of the Japan - U.S. treaty of military alliance, and for the disintegration of the aggressive S.E.A.T.O. bloc, thus contributing to smashing the scheme of the U.S. - led imperialists to attack

the socialist camp and to undermine the national liberation movement in South-east Asia. The maintenance and consolidation of peace in Indo-China and in South-east Asia is closely related to the cause of national reunification of our people ; therefore it is a task conforming not only to the interests of world peace, but also to the dearest interests of our entire nation.

The existence and the constant development of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, exerts a decisive influence on the general trend of world events. The strengthening of solidarity and unity of mind and the tightening of relations of brotherly co-operation and mutual assistance between the countries of the socialist camp, are the main conditions for the safeguarding of the national independence and the defence of the achievements in socialist and communist construction in each socialist country, enabling all the countries of the socialist camp to develop rapidly in the economic, political and cultural spheres as well as in the improvement of the living standards of the people. Alongside the reinforcement of solidarity and co-operation between the socialist countries, there must be a strengthening of solidarity and unity of mind between the Communist and Workers' Parties in the world. The more the solidarity and unity of mind of the socialist camp and the international communist movement grows, the more the revolutionary movement in the world will develop, the higher the unvanquishable banner of Marxism-Leninism will be raised before the eyes of progressive mankind. This is the very reason why the imperialists and their henchmen are seeking by all means to sabotage the solidarity and unity of

mind of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. In this respect the Yugoslav revisionists have played an extremely base role. But the Communist and Workers' Parties all over the world have resolutely condemned revisionism, and at the same time unmasked the traitorous nature of the Yugoslav revisionists, inflicting shameful defeat upon their manoeuvres of division. In the future as in the past, the great international task of our Party and our people is to strive to contribute to the strengthening of the solidarity and unity of mind of the socialist camp, to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement, and to struggle resolutely against every scheme and action aimed at undermining the international solidarity of the working class.

The fundamental content of the foreign policy of our Party and Government is as follows :

a) To continue strengthening solidarity and unity of mind between our country and the other countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, consolidating the unshakable friendship between our country and the brother countries, developing the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance with brother countries in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism, and contributing to the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement.

b) Together with the brother countries and the peace-loving and progressive people throughout the world, resolutely to continue fighting for the defence and consolidation of peace, opposing the policy of

aggression and war of the U.S. imperialists, achieving peaceful co-existence between countries having different political and social systems, bringing about arms reduction and prohibition of nuclear weapons, liquidating military bases in foreign countries and the aggressive military blocs, and advancing toward the establishment of systems of collective security in Europe and Asia.

We warmly hail and fully support the proposals of the Soviet Government for general and total disarmament, which Comrade Khrushchov put forward at the General Assembly of the U.N.O. and the recent proposals of the Soviet government for the liquidation of the means of transporting atomic and nuclear weapons and for the cessation of testing and production of these weapons.

We also warmly welcome and fully support the proposal of the Chinese Government for the signing of a treaty of peace and non-aggression between the countries of Asia and the Pacific area, including the U.S., and for the transformation of the whole area of Asia and the Pacific into an area with no nuclear weapons.

c) To support by all our forces the movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against colonialism, for national independence ; to strengthen friendly relations with nationalist countries, to develop economic and cultural relations with them on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and of the ten principles of the Bandoeng Conference.

As regards the neighbouring countries, we wish to establish and develop good relations based on mutual

respect for independence and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We welcome the present policy of peace and neutrality of Cambodia, and we will further strengthen our friendly relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia. We support the struggle of the Laotian people to implement a policy of peace, neutrality, and national concord, and we wish to establish lasting and stable friendly relations with this country.

We are ready to establish friendly relations with all other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

d) Resolutely to struggle for the thorough implementation of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China with a view to maintaining peace in Indo-China and South-east Asia, and to advancing towards the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam.

e) At the same time as we establish and strengthen relations between governments, we must expand the friendly relations between our people and the peoples of other countries.

Our foreign policy is the expression of the peaceful nature of our system. It ensures victory for socialist construction in the North and the national reunification of our people. That is why it enjoys the warm support of our people and the sympathy of all the forces of peace and progress in the world. We must have a practical plan for the application of this foreign policy in order to further raise the position of our country in the international arena and to enable our people rapidly to complete the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

VII

THE PARTY

Dear Comrades,

Our Party has passed through thirty years of glorious history, surmounted great trials in revolutionary struggle and become the undisputed leader of the nation; it has been entrusted by the whole working people and by all patriotic countrymen with the noble task of liberating the nation, leading our country along the brightest road open to mankind, the road of socialism and communism.

The thirty years history of our Party is a history of boundless loyalty to Marxism — Leninism, to the supreme interests of the class and the nation and to the international solidarity of the proletariat all over the world. Born and bred in a colonial and semi-feudal country, our Party, from the very beginning, held firmly the national and democratic banner, launched a broad peasant movement, brought into being a close alliance between workers and peasants and consequently soon won leadership of the revolution throughout the country. After fifteen years of illegal struggle under the iron heel of the French imperialists, the Japanese fascists and their henchmen, our Party led the General Uprising to victory, and set up the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the first people's democratic State in South-east Asia. The heroic Vietnamese people, under the firm leadership of our Party, defeated the aggressive French colonialists and the

American interventionists, completely liberated the North and are leading it in powerful advance to socialism. At present, socialist construction in the North and the struggle for national independence, led by our Party, are effective contributions to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence and consolidation of peace in South-east Asia and in the world.

In its thirty years of leadership of the revolution, our Party has gained many invaluable experiences. These experiences provide eloquent testimony of the absolute correctness of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, and at the same time contribute to enriching these principles.

If our Party has become the sole leader and organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution, it is because our Party has succeeded in building unity of mind in the ranks of the Party and maintained close ties with the masses, above all with the workers and the toiling peasants, thereby building a powerful revolutionary force among the broad masses, ensuring the firm retention of the leadership of the revolution by the Party in all fields and all circumstances and leading the revolution to success. This proves that in the conditions of such a small and backward country as ours, if only a Marxist - Leninist political party is built and has secured solidarity and unity of mind in its ranks, if it maintains close ties with the masses and always holds leadership of the revolution firmly in hand, the revolutionary movement of the people will certainly be victorious, however difficult and complex the situation may be.

Our Party has secured splendid victory in the national people's democratic revolution. That is because our Party has creatively applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete realities of our country, and laid down a correct revolutionary line and guiding principles, i.e. to combine closely the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, taking the task of struggle against the imperialists and their henchmen as the task of prime importance, while the anti-feudal task must be carried out step by step and closely combined with the anti-imperialist task. Thanks to these correct lines and guiding principles, our Party routed the reformism of the bourgeoisie, shattered the provocation and the sabotage of the trotskyites, exposed the above-class line and platform of various sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, combated rightist and leftist political tendencies within the Party, successfully completed the carrying out of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks in the North and created conditions for leading the North to socialism.

To fulfil the tasks of the national and democratic revolution, our Party held that the peasantry was the biggest revolutionary force in our country and that together with the working class it formed the main force of the revolution. Since our Party has in the main correctly resolved the peasant problem, the working class has succeeded in uniting and leading the peasantry, giving full play to the great revolutionary power of the peasants, creating a solid alliance between workers and peasants. Our Party pointed out that in annexing our country, imperialism aimed principally at oppressing and exploiting the peasants ; at the same

time, it pointed out that the main content of the contradiction between our people and the feudal forces was the contradiction between the peasantry and the landlord class. That is why, in the course of the revolutionary struggle, while the blows of the revolution were directed at imperialism and its henchmen, our Party at the same time carried out step by step the anti-feudal task, combined with the anti-imperialist task, and used the method of gradual reforms to advance towards agrarian revolution, to eliminate the landlord class and to transform fully into reality the slogan 'Land to the tillers', thus securing the brilliant success of the national people's democratic revolution in the North.

In the bitter revolutionary struggle against the aggressive imperialists and the feudal traitors the revolutionary forces must be numerous and strong if they are to triumph. Basing itself on the solid worker-peasant alliance, our Party was in a position to promote to the highest degree the patriotism of the various strata of the people and to gather all national and democratic forces into a broad National United Front under the leadership of the Party. With this correct policy concerning the Front, our Party united all patriotic and progressive forces, all majority and minority nationalities, all religious groupings, Catholics and non-Catholics, and concentrated the blows of the revolution upon imperialism and its lackeys. In the course of leading the United Front, our Party always attached importance to fostering the progressive forces in the Front and waged struggles against manœuvres to reduce the position of the workers and

the peasants and to weaken or restrict their revolutionary capacity ; at the same time, our Party also opposed the leftist sectarian tendency, which did not realize the revolutionary capacity of other classes and strata in given stages of the revolution and in given conditions. As a result, our Party has constantly striven to consolidate and broaden the Front, thus leading the revolution to victory.

To advance towards the overthrowing of the reactionary rule of the imperialists and feudalists, our Party took the building of the political forces of the masses as the basic task, skilfully combining illegal with legal activity, including the utilization of " Chambers of representatives " and " territorial councils " ; when the situation became favourable, it has switched over to another direction, combining armed struggle with political struggle, armed forces with political forces. As a result of this, our people led the General Uprising to victory.

The fundamental cause of the success of the August Revolution was the timely grasping of the most favourable opportunity by the political forces of the people, and the timely launching of the General Uprising to win State power. But if, prior to this, our Party had not built up armed forces and established broad bases to serve as supports for the political forces and the political struggle, and if the armed insurrection had not been launched in time while conditions were ripe, the revolution could not have so rapidly won success.

In the resistance period, it was thanks to the great importance attached by our Party to the building and consolidation of the people's armed forces, and thanks

to its policy of waging a people's war having the character of a nation-wide, all-sided and protracted war, that the resistance for national salvation of our people was led to splendid victory. The building and consolidation of the people's armed forces was one of the important conditions for the triumph of our country's revolution over every aggressive enemy and for the defence and further development of the achievements of the revolution.

The August Revolution set up the people's democratic State which took the worker-peasant alliance as its basis and was placed under the leadership of the working class. This State has been the main weapon in the hands of our people in carrying out the resistance and in building the new regime. Practice has clearly shown that the strengthening of the people's democratic State, the consolidation of its basis, the worker-peasant alliance, and the enhancement of the Party's leadership over the State, represent basic tasks of the Revolution,

The history of the revolutionary struggle in our country has unfolded in a very complex way : many times, the revolution has had to face several enemies simultaneously ; if it had not concentrated its blows on the immediate and most dangerous enemy, it would have been unable to achieve gradual and steady progress. The imperialists and the counter-revolutionary forces in their service all nursed the scheme of undermining and destroying the Vietnamese revolution ; but in their ranks, contradictions were constantly breaking out. Relying upon the great revolutionary strength of the people and firmly grasping the strategic direction,

our Party displayed skill in tactics, ably exploited the partial and temporary contradictions in the enemy ranks in order to divide them, to neutralize such forces as could be neutralized, to completely isolate the most dangerous elements and to create new conditions for the development and victory of the revolutionary forces.

The international solidarity of the working class on the basis of proletarian internationalism is a most important condition of the success of the Vietnamese revolution. Our Party has always attached importance to the education of our people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to the struggle against the nationalist conceptions of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie and treacherous, divisive sophisms of the imperialists and their henchmen. The success of the Vietnamese revolution is closely related to the development of the world revolution, to the support and help of the working class and toiling people all over the world, first and foremost of the working class and people of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. The working class and toiling people of France, under the leadership of the French Communist Party, have also actively supported and helped the liberation struggle of our people. Since the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam became a member of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, our country has always enjoyed the wholehearted assistance of the brother countries ; as for us, we have also endeavoured to make our active contribution to the strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp and to the safeguarding of world peace. To strengthen international solidarity is not only a sacred task of our

Party and people but also a sure guarantee of the success of our revolution.

Such are the main lessons of the revolution in our country over the past thirty years and more. In the course of leading the revolution, our Party has at times not fully understood these lessons and has committed rightist or "leftist" errors, the most notable being those committed during the land reform and the re-adjustment of organization, but whenever an error has been committed, it has been courageously exposed and resolutely corrected by our Party ; that is why our revolution has won the momentous and glorious successes to be seen today.

The above-mentioned lessons are those of the success of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country, the experiences gained by the Vietnamese people at the cost of their blood. They are not only the lessons of the success of the past revolutionary stage ; they are also lessons for the present stage of our revolution. In our future work, we shall apply and develop these lessons in the new conditions of the revolution, to go forward to more glorious victories in the achievement of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

Dear Comrades,

In the present revolutionary stage, our Party faces very heavy tasks. It must lead the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time fulfil the task of national people's democratic revolution

throughout the country. Socialist revolution is a revolutionary task new to our Party, and must moreover be carried out in conditions in which our country is partitioned ; therefore, in leading the revolution, our Party has to solve many difficult and complex problems. Our Party has had much experience in leading the national people's democratic revolution, for which it has secured splendid victories. However, to carry out this revolution on a nation-wide scale, our Party must still solve many new problems.

From the First Five-Year Plan onwards, the central task of the socialist revolution in the North switches over to the building of socialism, to be performed simultaneously with the completion of socialist transformation. Our Party must lead the people in carrying out socialist industrialization, the development of industry, agriculture and other economic branches, in driving forward the socialist revolution in the ideological, cultural and technical fields, with a view to raising the material and cultural standards of the people and to making of the North an ever more solid base for the struggle for national reunification. To take the North to socialism rapidly, vigorously and steadily and to promote the revolutionary movement in the South are very difficult, complex and arduous tasks, which require enlightened, firm and flexible leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

History has entrusted the Vietnamese working class and our Party with the heavy but extremely glorious mission of emancipating our people from feudal

and colonial slavery and leading them towards independence, freedom and happiness. Over the past thirty years, our Party has always proved worthy of this mission. Under the Party's leadership, the August Revolution was successful ; the Resistance was victorious, the North was entirely liberated and in advancing powerfully towards socialism, the prestige and position of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the international arena are being constantly enhanced. Compared with previous stages, the revolutionary tasks of the present stage are much heavier and more complex. But our Party has never feared difficulties, it has always courageously shouldered its responsibilities before history ; it is resolved to fight tirelessly to carry its tasks to success.

The experiences of the revolution over the past thirty years prove that the leadership of our Party is the basis and decisive condition of any victory of our people. Therefore, if the Party is to discharge its responsibilities in the present revolutionary stage, the crucial problem is still to constantly strengthen its leadership.

To strengthen the leadership of the Party, its combativeness and leading ability must be heightened ; concretely speaking, the class character and the vanguard character of the Party must be enhanced, solidarity and unity within the Party consolidated, its leadership work improved, the knowledge and the capacity in work of the cadres raised so that the Party branches may become that leading Party force in each basic unit. All Party members and cadres must display all their revolutionary enthusiasm and bring to bear all their experience and knowledge to fulfil these tasks, to

ensure that the Party may fulfil its historic mission in relation to the class and the nation and lead our revolution to new victories.

All of us know that our Party is the Party of the working class. It is the general staff, the vanguard and the highest organization of the working class. Thanks to the doctrine of Marxism — Leninism with which it is armed and thanks to the fact that it carries forward our people's traditions of heroism and unsubmissiveness, our Party, ever since its foundation, has had a sound political program, has been a uniting and leading centre of the patriotic and progressive forces throughout the country, and has thus been able to lead the working class, our toiling people and our nation to the successes to be seen today. This proves that our Party is not only the faithful representative of the interests of the working class of Viet Nam, but also of the true interests of all toiling people and of the nation. This also explains why the workers, peasants and other strata of the toiling people in our country have acknowledged our Party as their own, and in the whole course of the past thirty years, have accorded it their unfailing confidence and support.

In the socialist revolution in the North and in the struggle for national reunification, the role of the working class and of our Party in leading the revolution takes on all the greater importance, especially in leading the State power in the North to fulfil the historic tasks of dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why in the present revolutionary stage, in the work of building the Party, the problem of further strengthening the class character and the vanguard character

of the Party must be considered as basic. Only in this way can we make the leading role of the working class and of the Party ever more consolidated, in conformity with the demands of the revolution now in full swing.

Since the August Revolution, in the work of building the Party, we have scored many big achievements, the most important of which has been the powerful development of the Party organization, transforming our Party into a Party with a strong mass character. Party bases have been established throughout the country ; the membership, which was 5,000 at the time of the General Uprising in August 1945, has risen to nearly half a million, including the best elements from among the workers, peasants, and other strata of the toiling people. Another important achievement is that in the work of building the Party, we have concentrated upon ideological education and leadership, constantly enhanced the class consciousness of Party members, inculcated in them proletarian ideology and overpowered in their minds non-proletarian ideologies ; thanks to all this, our Party, though born and bred in a colonial and backward agricultural country, and counting among its members a majority of persons of peasant and urban petty-bourgeois origin, has in general maintained its proletarian and vanguard character, held firm to the proletarian line and ideology and led the revolution to victories.

However, in the process of building the Party since the August Revolution, we have displayed a number of weaknesses. The slogan 'transform the Party into a strong Party of the masses', thus drawing it still closer to the masses, helping it to

thoroughly understand their aspirations and to mobilize and organize them in the struggle against the enemy for national salvation, thus taking the revolution forward, is a correct slogan. But in leading the implementation of this slogan, there were moments when we did not indicate clearly the criteria and direction for the recruitment of new members, and failed to pay sufficient attention to the close guidance of the rate of development of Party organizations in order to guarantee the class character and the vanguard character of the Party. As a result, there occurred deviations, for instance, recruiting people of too low a level of consciousness or people belonging to exploiting classes who had not yet been re-educated. On the other hand, the work of consolidation did not keep pace with the tempo of development, which was too fast, the education of members was at times inadequate as regards class consciousness ; consequently in many localities, the quality of the Party membership suffered, and exerted an unhealthy influence upon the vanguard character of the Party organization. When the re-adjustment of organization was carried out in combination with the land reform, there occurred in the Party another deviation, the incorrect appraisal of Party branches in the countryside, the assessment of many of them as heterogeneous and as dominated by landlords, and as a result, attacks were launched confusedly against the Party ranks themselves, occasioning regrettable losses.

These shortcomings show that for many Party members, the conception of the class character and the vanguard character of the Party is still somewhat

vague ; at one moment, the class character was not clearly conceived, at another it was conceived in a mechanical manner, in isolation from the revolutionary realities in our country. At present, such incorrect conceptions have been remedied, but in the future, we must still struggle for a more thorough conception of the class character and the vanguard character of the Party among all Party members, and see to it that all organizational and educational work with Party members is permeated with this more thorough conception. In the present revolutionary stage, in order to strengthen the class character and the vanguard character of the Party, on the one hand the criteria of Party membership and the requirements of Party members in its work must be raised so that our Party may count in its ranks the best sons of the working class and toiling people ; on the other hand, efforts must be exerted in educating Party members to imbue them with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the communist conception of life, and to constantly raise their ideological level. The work of the development of Party organizations must be improved ; more attention must be paid to the recruitment of new Party members from the worker masses.

The new Draft Constitution of the Party, based upon the changes brought about in the social situation of the Northern part of our country and the revolutionary tasks of the new stage, includes important amendments to the conditions for the recruitment of new members and to the duties of Party members. Such amendments are most necessary to strengthen the class character and the vanguard character of the Party.

Comrade Le Duc Tho, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, will present these problems in detail in his report on the revision of the Constitution of the Party.

Solidarity and unity represent the source of the great strength of our Party. The present revolutionary struggle in the North as well as in south Viet Nam is an arduous and complex class struggle. The solidarity and unity of the Party is a basic condition for uniting the entire people, giving full play to the rich revolutionary potentialities of the masses and leading the revolution to final victory. To enhance solidarity and unity within the Party is a task which our Party has to carry out at all times, but in the present revolutionary stage, it has exceptionally great importance.

Our Party has a tradition of solidarity and unity ; this is our precious capital. We must endeavour to develop and enhance this valuable tradition. The solidarity and unity of our Party is a solidarity and unity based on principle. Its foundation is the highest degree of ideological unity and an unshakable unity of organization. To strengthen solidarity and unity within the Party, we must see to the consolidation and reinforcement of the ideological and organizational unity of the Party.

Ideological unity can be solidly built only on the standpoint and ideology of the working class and on the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. The still low level of class consciousness and of theoretical understanding of many Party cadres and members constitutes an obstacle to the consolidation and reinforcement of

ideological unity within the Party. We must perseveringly struggle to surmount this obstacle, we must consider the problem of consolidating the proletarian class stand and of raising the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of Party cadres and members as a prime task in the work of building the Party.

The problem of raising the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of Party cadres and members is a problem which our Party must solve daily, since the theory of Marxism-Leninism shows the way to all the Party in leading the revolution. There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory, therefore, educational work and theoretical study are tasks of prime importance for every Marxist-Leninist party. But in the present conditions of our Party, to understand all the importance and urgency of educational work and theoretical study, we must recognize still another very important aspect of the problem : the raising of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of our Party cadres and members is the main condition for the strengthening of solidarity and unity within our Party, for putting this solidarity and unity on a thoroughly firm, scientific basis. From this starting point, each Party cadre and member will realize that his attitude towards the study and examination of Marxist-Leninist theory is a problem of Party spirit, and a problem that concerns the very existence of the Party.

To raise the Marxist — Leninist theoretical level of Party cadres and members, our Party must have a long-range plan to carry out theoretical education in a systematic manner throughout the Party, and at the

same time a system of summing up our revolutionary experiences, not only the experiences of the past, but also those gained in our work from now on.

The organization of the systematic study of Marxist-Leninist theory, first and foremost among high-ranking and middle-ranking cadres, is a very urgent need to help our Party cadres and members to grasp the basic elements of Marxism — Leninism and apply them to the examination and solution of concrete problems of the socialist revolution in the North and of the struggle for national reunification. The system of Party schools at all levels must be broadened and perfected, qualified lecturers in theory must be trained and their level constantly raised ; a body of theoretical workers must be brought into being and the Party's work in fundamental theory strengthened ; the quality of the Party theoretical review must be enhanced ; the translation of classical theoretical works and the writing of popular theoretical works must be developed ; the system of cadres studying on the job must be improved, and cadres must be encouraged to study theory actively. In conducting theoretical studies, the following guiding principle must be thoroughly grasped " to combine theoretical study with practice, to combat dogmatism ".

The summing up of experiences is a method of coupling theory with practice, using theory to analyse practice and drawing theory from the analysis of practice. It is a good method for the raising of the theoretical level of Party cadres and members ; it is also a good method of combating all tendencies to dogmatism and empiricism, of enhancing ideological unity within the Party. We must have definite regulations for the

system of summing up experiences, in order that Party committees and leading cadres at all levels may be well aware of their responsibility to ensure efficient and regular summing up of experiences, and to strive to raise the quality of this work. While summing up our own revolutionary experiences, we must organize and guide the analytical and creative study of the revolutionary experiences of the world communist movement.

To strengthen ideological unity within the Party, together with the development of Marxist - Leninist theoretical studies, we must consolidate the class stand and foster the proletarian ideology of all Party cadres and members. Our Party is the Party of the working class, the proletarian ideology has always been the guiding ideology of our Party, and as a result, our Party's line and policy are in the main correct. But we must remember that our Party was born and bred in a society in which peasants and urban petty-bourgeois elements form the great majority of the people, and that in our Party itself, most cadres and members come from peasant and urban petty-bourgeois stock. For a long time, our Party has led the national people's democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism; our Party cadres and members have been tempered in the fire of the national people's democratic revolution, but their education and training as regards working class stand has not been adequate. There have been manifestations of rightist or "leftist" political tendencies in our Party, of political wavering at important turning points of the revolution. Subjectivism, dogmatism, empiricism, individualism, liberalism, the tendency to looseness, etc., still exist to no

small extent in our Party. These are manifestation of petty-bourgeois ideology.

On the other hand, in the northern part of our country, the struggle is going on between the socialist and capitalist paths. Bourgeois ideology incessantly exerts its influence upon our Party ; it relies upon and combines with petty-bourgeois ideology to destroy our Party cadres and members. Therefore, in the present revolutionary stage, to guarantee victory in the struggle to solve the problem " who will win " on the economic, political, cultural and ideological fronts and to strengthen the working class stand and ideology of Party cadres and members, ideological work within the Party must concentrate its attack on the influence of bourgeois ideology and on petty-bourgeois ideology.

We must resolutely fight against the influence of bourgeois ideology within our Party, and must not slacken this struggle for a moment ; only in this way can we lead socialist revolution in the North to advance powerfully. The struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology within our Party is closely related to the struggle of the toiling people in the North against bourgeois ideology in social life. Our Party members must be the first and the firmest in condemning bourgeois ideology and defeating all of its manifestations in society by every means.

The struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology cannot be separated from, but must go hand in hand with the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology within our Party. For not only is petty-bourgeois ideology rather widespread within our Party,

not only has it occasioned many heavy losses to our Party, but it is also a good prop for bourgeois ideology in exerting its influence upon the Party. Without resolutely fighting against petty-bourgeois ideology inside the Party, there can be no success in the struggle against the influence exerted by bourgeois ideology upon our Party and against bourgeois ideology in social life.

In short, in the present revolutionary stage, ideological work within our Party aims at strengthening proletarian ideology on the basis of systematic education in Marxism-Leninism, of struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology and against petty-bourgeois ideology and of the continuous elimination of all vestiges of feudal and other non-proletarian ideologies. That is the direction of the long-term ideological work within our Party. To make this direction a reality, in performing our ideological work we must base ourselves on the immediate political tasks, on the state of mind of Party cadres and members and on the requirements of the revolution at each stage.

In ideological education and struggle, we must carry out the struggle against wrong political tendencies, oppose the manifestations of dogmatism, and pay special attention to the prevention of any appearance of revisionism, considered as the main danger to the present revolutionary movement ; we must resolutely defend the line and political programme of the Party and defend and enhance the leading role of the Party.

Criticism and self-criticism is a sharp weapon of the Party in struggling against wrong ideologies and

tendencies within the Party. We must promote criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, in order to raise the ideological level of Party cadres and members and to strengthen solidarity and unity within the Party.

Identity of ideological outlook is the basis of organizational unity ; to strengthen ideological identity is a fundamental measure for the strengthening of organizational unity but apart from this measure, we must also raise the Party members' spirit of organization and discipline, to bring them to submit voluntarily to the will of the Party organization, to implement all Party decisions and directives firmly and thoroughly and to be determined to preserve the unity of the Party as the apple of their eye.

Comrades,

To strengthen the Party's leadership, efforts must be exerted to improve Party leadership methods. Our society is undergoing deep revolutionary changes ; it is moving from a state of individualism, scatteredness and handicrafts to a society of large scale and concentrated organization. This is a big change in the life of our people. Our Party must be fully aware of this change to determine the direction for the improvement of its leadership methods, to make its leadership ever more effective, and to ensure full execution of the political tasks it has laid down.

The Party's leadership work must be organized in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism. Leading organs of the Party at all levels must be

strengthened, the unified leadership of the Central Committee and the all-sided leadership of Party committees at all levels must be enhanced. Efforts must be made to combat tendencies to looseness in leadership, at the same time resolutely opposing the tendency to bureaucratic centralism. Leading organs and responsible cadres must go deeply into practical work, keeping firm hold of the most important tasks, at the same time as they give strong all-sided leadership.

Party committees at all levels must correctly apply the system of collective leadership and individual responsibility, maintain firmly the principles of Party life, promote democracy, broaden criticism and self-criticism, lay down definite regulations governing working systems, such as the system of control, the system of reporting and of asking for instructions, the system of responsibilities, etc. . Specialized organs attached to Party Committees must be strengthened to become their efficient auxiliaries in taking charge of the situation and taking necessary decisions. Cumbersomeness and dissemination in organization, and disorderly and sluggish styles of work must be combated. Organizational forms must be as light and straightforward as possible, unnecessary intermediate levels must be done away with ; an expeditious and active style of work must be promoted to centralize and unify leadership still further ; at the same time, organization must be perfected and strengthened at those levels and in those departments where this is seen to be necessary.

Alongside the improvement of the work of organization and leadership within the Party, the

links between the Party and the toiling masses must also be further tightened. This also constitutes an important measure for the improvement on Party leadership work.

Revolution is the work of the masses led by the Party. The source of the boundless strength of the Party lies in its close ties with the toiling masses. Our Party has a tradition of keeping close ties with the masses and has much experience in mobilizing the masses to carry out the revolution. But following the August Revolution, our Party having become the party leading the State, among a section of our Party members and cadres, bureaucracy and commandism were born. Red-tapism has also developed, especially since the re-establishment of peace. Bureaucracy, commandism and red-tapism are dangerous diseases. Our Party struggles for the interests of the working class and the toiling people ; if it becomes divorced from the masses, it cannot thoroughly understand their aspirations and desires ; it cannot formulate correct policies or mobilize and organize the masses to achieve the tasks of the revolution. We must energetically fight all manifestations of divorcement from the masses, to help our Party maintain closer and closer ties with the masses, and daily strengthen its leadership work.

To tighten the links between the Party and the masses, Party cadres and members must be thoroughly educated in the mass line style of work, and all manifestations and actions going counter to the mass line must be criticized. There must be an improvement in the method of work of cadres, a system must be

established for cadres to go down regularly to basic units to investigate and study the real situation, to participate in the work, life and labour of the masses, to study and sum up the experiences of the masses and to bring timely settlement to the reasonable proposals made by the masses ; Party leadership of mass organisations must be strengthened and the active rôle of these organisations developed to the full in educating the masses and in advising the Party of their aspirations and opinions.

The problem of cadres is of prime importance in the organizational work of the Party, since cadres have the duty of propagandizing Party lines and policies among the masses, educating and organizing the masses for their implementation. To strengthen Party leadership in this revolutionary stage, our Party emphatically must do good work as regards cadres, it must strive to raise their level of knowledge and capacity in work.

In our cadres work, our Party has always selected, fostered and promoted cadres originating from among the workers, peasants, and intellectuals. The practical experience of our Party shows that each of these categories of cadres have their own strong and weak points, and that the key to success in Party cadres work consists in knowing how to develop the strong points and overcome the weak points of each category, so that all may become good cadres of the working class. Since our Party is the Party of the working class and since the main forces of the revolution in our country are the workers and the working peasants, the most oppressed and exploited people of the old society, who

thoroughly understand the life of the toiling masses and are experienced in production, our Party must give special attention to selecting, fostering and promoting cadres of worker and peasant stock. In the past, this was correct and necessary. At present, while our Party is endeavouring to consolidate the North, to take it to socialism, it is all the more so. In the present revolutionary stage if due care is not given to solving correctly the problem of selecting, fostering and promoting cadres of worker and peasant origin, the revolution cannot be successfully carried out. However, to pay attention to cadres of worker and peasant stock does not mean to deny the role of cadres from among the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. In our country, the petty-bourgeois intellectuals have also been heavily oppressed by imperialism and feudalism, and have played an important role in the period of national people's democratic revolution. At present, in the socialist revolution, under the Party's leadership, they can further enhance their active role. Therefore, while caring for the selection, fostering and promotion of cadres of worker and peasant stock, our Party also attaches importance to selecting, fostering and promoting intellectual cadres. The Party cadres policy for the future will remain : to care for the selection, fostering and promotion of cadres from among the best workers and peasants, and at the same time to select, foster and promote cadres from among the best intellectuals having close ties with the workers and peasants and wholeheartedly devoted to the service of the workers and peasants.

The cultural level of the majority of our cadres is still low ; their knowledge in economy, science, technique and professional matters is still insufficient. This is a great obstacle for us on our path to socialism. Socialist revolution is a great economic and cultural transformation of society. If the cultural level and the knowledge of our cadres in economy, science, technique and professional matters is too low, there can be no guarantee of the successful completion of this revolution. Therefore side by side with the strengthening of political and ideological education, our Party must have a plan to actively carry out complementary general education and to raise the knowledge of cadres, especially of those of worker and peasant stock, in economy, science, technique and professional matters.

We must devote more attention to young cadres, cadres from ethnic minorities and women cadres. Special care must be given to helping them to make progress, more of them must be promoted to leading bodies of the Party and the State at various levels, their abilities in socialist economic and cultural construction must be fully developed. There must be a well co-ordinated, correct use of young and old cadres, so that these two categories of cadres may complement and help one another and together drive forward the revolutionary cause. We must pay special attention to cadres from the South regrouped in the North. They are a precious capital which we have to develop carefully, not only with the aim of enabling them to make greater contributions to the cause of socialist revolution in the North, but also to enable them to

have the possibility of becoming the leading core in the future construction of liberated south Viet Nam.

In the ranks of our cadres, those of the communes are encountering the greatest difficulties, because the level of their knowledge is still low, their tasks heavy and complex, and their material life difficult. In spite of all this, generally speaking, they are actively carrying on their work, keeping close ties with the masses, and fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them by the Party. This spirit of self-sacrifice and of struggle is very precious and well worthy of praise. But we must not prolong this state of things ; we must have a plan to raise the level of understanding of commune cadres, keeping close to them and giving them concrete help in their work, at the same time taking effective measures to minimize the difficulties and lacks in their material life. If this is done, our commune cadres will be more enthusiastic in their work and will strongly promote all activities in the communes.

Another important problem in the Party's cadres policy is to devote more attention to aged and physically weak cadres. We must study and devise a correct policy toward them, aimed at helping them materially and morally, and at the same time creating conditions for them to be able to help young cadres with their own live experiences, thus continuing to make their contribution to the revolutionary cause.

Hand in hand with cadres work we must give the greatest care to basic Party organization work, in which the key point is to strengthen Party branch work. Party branches are the organic cells which constitute the Party. The Party is strong as its organic cells are

strong. Party branches, living in the very midst of the masses, have the task of linking the Party with the masses, implementing the Party's line and policy among the masses and reflecting the opinions, aspirations and desires of the masses to the leading bodies of the Party.

Our Party branches are sound organizations. Most of the branches in the countryside were tempered and grew up during the Resistance and the land reform. Branches in the enterprises, offices, urban quarters and army, following the movement to improve the management of enterprises and the ideological re-education drive of 1959, have been consolidated and further strengthened.

However, in many localities, Party branch work has not received adequate attention. Many Party committees do not take full account of the important position, or of the weak points, of Party branches. In the socialist revolution now in full swing all over the North of our country, Party branches must be units of leadership and struggle, putting socialist transformation and construction directly into practice ; Party members must strongly affirm their vanguard role in the implementation of the lines and policies of the Party and the Government. Party branches and members must know not only how to organize and lead the masses to carry out political work, but also how to organize and lead the masses to carry out economic, cultural, scientific and technical work ; not only must they lead the struggle to eradicate the old relations of production but they must also lead and organize the

consolidation and development of the new relations of production, the building of a new life.

At present, there are branches which are not fulfilling their tasks. There are branches with a rather large membership, but whose fighting power has not developed and whose members show great weaknesses as to their combativeness and their role as leaders of the masses. In the movement for agricultural co-operation, a number of Party members have lagged behind non-Party elements. Many branches have not been able to mobilize all their members to take part in propaganda work and in the education and organization of the masses to contribute to the overall leadership of the branches. In Party branch committees, many shortcomings are found as regards collective and all-sided leadership. There are committee members who, apart from the work entrusted to them personally, are not aware of the general work of leadership or pay no attention to it. The method of work in many branches is still disorderly, with too many meetings, which have a bad influence on the Party members' participation in production and their ties with the masses.

In order that Party branches may fulfil their tasks in the new stage, apart from fostering old Party members and recruiting new ones to strengthen the branches, Party branch work must be improved to accord with the new situation. The capacity in leadership of the branches must be strengthened so that they and their committees may lead in an all-sided and unified way the various activities within their units, and especially, keep well in hand the leadership of economy and production. A study must be made to secure a rational

division of work in Party branches and branch committees, so that each comrade has a well-defined responsibility.

Side by side with the development of Party organization, special care must be given to the education of Party members. There must be a programme adapted to the needs of Party branch members, gradually raising the political level and capacity in work of all members ; a system must be established for Party branch members to hold regular readings and discussions of Party news papers and periodicals. We must attach importance to the education of Party members in revolutionary ethics, to the improvement of their political substance, to make of them exemplary men everywhere, drawing the broad masses around them in the discharge of the tasks prescribed by the Party.

In its daily work, the Party branch must rely on the branch of the Labour Youth Union and make use of its strength in mobilizing and organizing the masses of youth to stand in the van in implementing the Party line and policy and the tasks laid down by the Party branch. The Labour Youth Union is the right arm of the Party. In relying on the Union branch, the Party branch not only can give full play to its leading and organizing role, but can also educate and temper the broad masses of the youth, thus training new forces for the revolution of our people.

Comrades,

The Third National Congress of our Party meets at a time when in the North, socialist transformation

is winning a victory of a decisive character, socialist construction is advancing with big strides, and the heroic revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the South and throughout the country for national reunification is developing powerfully. The people of the whole country, our overseas compatriots and the cadres and members of the whole Party look to the national Congress with boundless enthusiasm.

The Third National Congress of our Party meets in the year when the whole Party and the whole people jubilantly celebrate the 70th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh. Comrade Ho Chi Minh is the first communist of our country, the founder and leader of our Party. For almost fifty years, he has devoted his entire spirit and energy to the revolutionary cause of our people. He has set a shining example of unlimited devotion to the interests of the class and the nation, and has illustrated to the highest degree the communist virtues of full devotion to the general interests, and selflessness, diligence, thrift, integrity and righteousness. Our Party and our people are extremely proud of their great leader. On behalf of the whole Party and people, our National Congress once again expresses its full confidence in and deep gratitude to Comrade Ho Chi Minh, and appeals to all Party members and cadres to wholeheartedly learn from his shining example, and to continue fighting tirelessly for the independence and unity of the Fatherland, for the freedom and happiness of the people.

At present, in spite of numerous difficulties, the revolutionary struggle of our people has brilliant prospects. In the North, we will soon successfully fulfil the

Three-Year Plan and will certainly struggle to fulfil and overfulfil the First Five-Year Plan. The forces of the North will be strengthened, the life of the northern people will become finer. The big achievements of the North in socialist construction are stimulating and will stimulate ever more the revolutionary enthusiasm of our compatriots in the South in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

The revolutionary movement in the South, whatever difficulties and hardships it may encounter, will never cease to develop powerfully. The U.S. - Diem regime of corruption is certainly doomed to collapse, no dark force on earth is able to save it from this fate. Undoubtedly our beloved South will be liberated.

Our people's struggle for peaceful national reunification is a just struggle. It is an integral part of the broad struggle of the people all over the world against the policy of aggression and war of the U.S. imperialists. It is being carried out in conditions in which, in the international arena, evident superiority is already on the side of the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy. Even though the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen hatch thousands of schemes and plots, final victory will certainly be our people's.

The present National Congress of our Party has very great significance in the revolutionary history of our country. The revolutionary line traced by the Congress will certainly be a bright beacon showing the way to our people in their advance towards socialism, national reunification, and the achievement of a peace-

ful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the invincible banner of our Party led by revered Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people, the millions of them as one, will strive and fight to transform this revolutionary line into reality, to win for themselves a bright future.

Long live Marxism-Leninism !

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the leader and organizer of all victories of our people !

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam !

Long live solidarity and unity within the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union !

Long live world peace !

RESOLUTION

**OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY
ON THE TASKS AND LINE OF THE
PARTY IN THE NEW STAGE**

I

The Third National Congress of the Party unanimously finds that, over the past nine years and more, from the Second Congress to the Third, under the leadership of the Party, the Vietnamese revolution has won big victories.

The protracted and heroic Resistance of our army and people defeated the French colonialist aggressors and the American interventionists. Following the great victory of Dien Bien Phu, we won success in the signing of the Geneva Agreements, restored peace in Viet Nam and Indo-China, and smashed the attempt of the American interventionists to protract and expand the Indochinese war. Our people's struggle enjoyed the warm support of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, the French working class and people, and the peace-loving people throughout the world. The victory of the Resistance further strengthened our people's confidence and pride in their unity in struggle and the clear-sighted leadership of the Party.

The victory of our people proves that in our era, a small and weak colonial people, if it fights in unity under the leadership of the Party of the working class, can defeat the aggressive imperialists and win genuine independence and freedom.

The victory of the Resistance laid the foundation for the further development of the revolution of our whole people.

In the North since its complete liberation from the colonial yoke, we have carried through the land reform, overthrown the feudal landlord class, handed over the land to the peasants, and thus successfully fulfilled the historic tasks of the national people's democratic revolution. The socialist revolution has taken an important step forward. We have completed the economic restoration, healed the wounds of war and spurred forward the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan for the development and transformation of the economy and the development of culture, scoring big achievements. The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce is winning victories of a decisive character. Agricultural and industrial production has begun to develop strongly ; planning of the national economy has begun. Educational and cultural work is also developing vigorously ; fundamentally illiteracy has been wiped out. A first step has been taken in the improvement of the material and cultural life of the working people.

The ranks of the Party have been consolidated, expanded and are growing stronger and stronger. The class consciousness of Party members has been raised to a higher level. Through trials in difficult days, the solidarity and unity of mind within the Party has been maintained and strengthened ; the leadership of the Party Committees at all levels has been further consolidated ; some progress has been made in improving

our style of work and in moving closer to the masses and basic units.

The people's democratic power, more and more consolidated, is a strong instrument for fulfilment of the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, accelerating socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North ; at the same time, it is a firm base for the whole of our people to struggle for the strengthening of peace and the achievement of national reunification. Under the leadership of the Party, the People's Army has vigorously developed its revolutionary nature, scored new achievements in study and in work and made steady progress in transforming itself into a regular and modern army.

The National United Front has been consolidated, the worker-peasant alliance strengthened. The Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the political parties and mass organizations within the Front have made active contributions to the cause of socialist revolution in the North and the struggle for national reunification.

In the South, our compatriots' struggle against the American imperialists and their agents, the Ngo dinh Diem clique, though facing many difficulties, is being firmly maintained and more and more expanded. Our people throughout the country have united closely in their struggle and enjoy world-wide sympathy and support. The American imperialists and their henchmen are more and more isolated.

On behalf of the whole Party, the Third National Congress warmly congratulates our army and people on their unity in struggle and their heroism during the

war of Resistance, congratulates our compatriots in the South on their heroic revolutionary fighting spirit in the struggle against the U.S. - Diem clique, congratulates our compatriots, armymen and cadres in the North, on their industriousness in the building of socialism.

Following an overall review of the achievements of the revolution, the Congress makes the following assessment : Since the Second Congress, the Party line and the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Ho chi Minh, have been correct. Our Party has remained absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, devoted heart and soul to the people and the Fatherland, constantly preserved its unity and fostered the revolutionary forces all over the country, leading the revolution to brilliant victories.

II

Since the re-establishment of peace and the complete liberation of the North, the Vietnamese revolution has shifted over to a new stage. Under the leadership of the Party, the North is advancing by firm steps towards socialism ; it has strengthened its forces in all fields and become the bulwark of the nation-wide revolution. Meanwhile, the American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique have set up a despotic and warlike administration in the South, and turned the South into a colony of a new type and

a military base of the American imperialists. They are hampering and sabotaging the cause of national reunification of our people.

In the present stage, the Vietnamese revolution has two strategic tasks :

Firstly, to carry out the socialist revolution in the North.

Secondly, to liberate the South from the rule of the American imperialists and their henchmen, achieve national reunification and complete independence and freedom throughout the country.

These two strategic tasks are closely related to each other and impel each other forward.

To take the North towards socialism is a necessary and unavoidable task following the completion of the national people's democratic revolution. To take the North towards socialism and make it more and more powerful in every field will benefit the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the South, the development of the revolution throughout the country and the preservation and consolidation of peace in Indo-China, South-east Asia and the world. Therefore, to carry out the socialist revolution in the North is the most decisive task for the development of the whole Vietnamese revolution, for the cause of national reunification. We carry out the socialist revolution in the North, while in the South we must endeavour to rally all national and democratic forces, expand and consolidate the national united bloc, isolate the American imperialists and their henchmen, and speed up the struggle to strengthen peace and reunify our

Fatherland. That is why, the guiding principle of the socialist revolution in the North is to build the North and in so doing to take the South into due consideration.

In the completion of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country, and the achievement of national reunification, our compatriots in the South have the task of directly overthrowing the rule of the American imperialists and their agents in order to liberate south Viet Nam. The revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the South also aims at frustrating the attempt of the U. S. - Diem clique to rekindle war, and making an active contribution to the defence of peace in Indo-China, South-east Asia and the world.

The two revolutionary tasks of the North and the South belong to two different strategies, each task aiming at satisfying the concrete requirement of each zone under the specific conditions of our divided country. But these two tasks aim at resolving a common contradiction of our whole country — the contradiction between our people and the imperialists and their henchmen in order to achieve a common immediate aim — to achieve peaceful national reunification.

The common task of the Vietnamese revolution at present is to enhance the solidarity of the entire people, to struggle resolutely for the maintenance of peace, to promote the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time the national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic,

prosperous and strong Viet Nam, and to contribute effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in South-east Asia and the world.

III

1. In the South, over the last few years, the American imperialists and their henchmen, the Ngo dinh Diem clique, have been following a policy of feverish military build-up and war preparation, barbarous terrorism against the revolutionary of the Southern people, with a view to sabotaging the independence and national unity of our people, undermining the Geneva Agreements and peace in South-east Asia and the world. They are seeking all means to exploit, plunder and impoverish the various strata of our people, bringing about a serious decline in the south Vietnamese economy and reducing the society of south Viet Nam to a state of utter confusion, imposing excessive sufferings upon the lives of our compatriots.

Dragged through blood and fire but never submitting, our compatriots have always held aloft the banner of national independence and democracy, closing their ranks and struggling heroically. In countryside and town, in the plains and in the mountainous regions, the movement of struggle against the U. S.-Diem clique for national independence and democratic freedoms, for better living conditions and for peaceful

national reunification, is growing more and more widespread and deep-going among all strata of our people. An increasing number of armymen and civil servants in the south Viet Nam administration have recognized the ignoble face of the U. S. - Diem clique. The more the U. S. - Diem clique terrorize and suppress our compatriots, the higher the flames of hatred and patriotism mount in the South, the broader and firmer our people's unity grows, driving the U.S.-Diem clique into growing isolation, and the stronger becomes the national democratic movement in the South.

2. The colonial and semi-feudal regime in the South is the obstacle in the way of the cause of peace and reunification of our people, the source of all the sorrow and hardships endured by our compatriots in the South. The fundamental task of the revolution in the South is to liberate this part of the country from imperialist and feudal domination, to achieve national independence and to put into effect the slogan "Land to the Tillers", and to contribute to the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

At present the sharpest contradiction which is developing in the South is the contradiction between the people of the South, including the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and other patriotic strata and individuals on the one side — and the American imperialists and their henchmen, including the most reactionary pro-American elements of the landlord class and among the bourgeois compradors on the other. The immediate task of the revolution in the South is to achieve the

unity of the whole people, to fight resolutely against the aggressive and warmongering U. S. imperialists, to overthrow the dictatorial ruling Ngo Dinh Diem clique, lackeys of the U. S. imperialists, to form a national democratic coalition government in south Viet Nam, to win national independence and establish democratic freedoms, to improve the people's livelihood, to safeguard peace, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, and to make an active contribution to the defence of peace in South-east Asia and the world.

3. The revolution in the South is a protracted, hard and complex process of struggle, combining many forms of struggle of great liveliness and flexibility, ranging from lower to higher, and taking as its basis the building, consolidation and development of the revolutionary power of the masses. During this process we must pay special attention to the work of organizing and educating the people, first and foremost the workers, peasants and intellectuals, promoting to the highest degree the patriotism of the various strata of our people. We must unceasingly expose the perfidious schemes and acts of the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen, in order to divide and isolate them as much as possible.

To ensure the complete success of the revolutionary struggle in south Viet Nam, our people there must strive to establish a united bloc of workers, peasants and soldiers, and to bring into being a broad National United Front directed against the U. S. and Diem and based on the worker-peasant alliance. This Front must rally all the patriotic classes and sections of the people,

the majority and minority nationalities, all patriotic parties and religious groupings, together with all individuals inclined to oppose the U. S. and Diem. The aims of its struggle are peace, national independence, democratic freedoms, improvement of the people's living conditions and peaceful national reunification. The Front must rally all forces that can be rallied, win over all forces that can be won over, neutralize all forces that should be neutralized and draw the broad masses into the general struggle against the U. S. and Diem for the liberation of the South and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

4. The revolutionary movement in the South plays a very important role in relation to the reunification of the country. Simultaneously with the effort to build the North and take it towards socialism, our people must strive to maintain and develop the revolutionary forces in the South and create favourable conditions for peaceful national reunification.

Our people's struggle for the achievement of national reunification is a just struggle against the American imperialists and their henchmen, who are undermining the Geneva Agreements, an international instrument recognizing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our country. Our Government and people are resolutely maintaining their line of peaceful national reunification and preserving the Geneva Agreements. We stand for the achievement of national reunification step by step in accordance with the spirit of the Programme of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front. But we must constantly

heighten our vigilance and be prepared for any eventuality. If the American imperialists and their henchmen venture to unleash war in an attempt to invade the North, the whole of our people will resolutely stand up to defeat them and achieve independence and national reunification.

Our compatriots in the South have time and again stood up against the colonialist aggressors ; they have risen up in the Cochinchina and Ba To insurrections and, together with the whole people, successfully carried out the August Revolution and brought the war of Resistance to a victory, completely liberating the North. The revolutionary struggle of our southern compatriots at present is the continuation of these revolutionary struggles in the new historical conditions.

The Congress is confident that our southern compatriots will further strengthen their solidarity, continue to promote the heroic fighting traditions of the nation, victoriously fulfil the tasks of the national people's democratic revolution in the South, and prove always worthy of the title of " Brass wall of the Fatherland ". Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one. The will of our whole people to reunify our Fatherland will never falter and we will finally triumph.

1. Since the re-establishment of peace, the northern part of our country has stepped into the period of transition to socialism.

The Congress holds that the North possesses the required conditions to bypass the capitalist stage of development and advance directly towards socialism.

This is in accordance with the thesis laid down in the 1930 Political Platform of the Party ; today it is being proved perfectly correct by practice.

The general line of our Party in the period of transition to socialism in the North is as follows :

To unite the whole people, to develop their ardent patriotism and traditions of heroic struggle and industrious labour, at the same time strengthening solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, in order to take the North towards socialism rapidly, vigorously and steadily, to build an abundant and happy life in the North, to consolidate the North and turn it into a strong base for the struggle for peaceful national reunification and to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the preservation of peace in South-east Asia and the world.

To reach this goal, we must make use of the people's democratic State power to fulfil the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce ; to develop the State economic sector, to carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry, while striving to develop agriculture and light industry ; to push ahead the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, with a view to transforming our country into a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and an advanced culture and science.

2. The socialist revolution in the North is a process of revolutionary transformation in all fields aimed at

taking the North from an economy fundamentally based on individual ownership of the means of production to a socialist economy based on ownership by the whole people and on collective ownership, from a system of small production to a system of large-scale socialist production ; from a scattered and backward economy to a balanced and modern economy.

On the one hand, we must accelerate socialist transformation with a view to transforming the non-socialist relations of production into socialist relations of production, the keypoint of which is the transformation of the systems of individual and capitalist ownership of the means of production into different forms of socialist ownership, with a view to liberating the productive forces and opening the way for their development. On the other hand, the construction of socialism must be speeded up with a view to developing the liberated productive forces, laying the material and technical foundations of socialism, abolishing the state of backwardness, transforming small production into large-scale socialist production, constantly developing and perfecting the new relations of production.

Socialist transformation and socialist construction are two closely related aspects of the socialist revolution in the northern part of our country. In view of the concrete situation in the North, in the first period of the socialist revolution, we take socialist transformation as the central task, while taking the first step in socialist construction. When socialist transformation has secured a victory of a decisive character, we must switch over to socialist construction as the central task,

undertaking socialist industrialization and simultaneously completing socialist transformation.

The socialist transformation of agriculture is the main link in the whole chain of socialist transformation. In carrying out agricultural co-operation, we must educate the peasants in socialist ideology and combine the transformation of the relations of production with the improvement of technique. The path of agricultural co-operation may be broadly described as proceeding from work-exchange teams to producers' co-operatives of elementary type, and co-operatives of advanced type ; from small-scale co-operatives to large-scale ones ; at the same time developing supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives, in order to transform the individual peasant into a peasant co-operator, individual production into collective production, expand agricultural production and build up a new countryside. In the course of the carrying out of agricultural co-operation, we must firmly grasp the class line of the Party in the countryside, the most important point of which is : fully rely on the poor peasants and the lower middle peasants, and closely unite with the middle peasants ; we must constantly grasp the three principles : "voluntariness", "mutual benefit" and "democratic management".

To carry out the socialist transformation of handicrafts is to create basic conditions for the vigorous development of handicrafts in a direction favourable to the national economy and to the handicraftsmen. Our line for handicraft co-operation proceeds through

various forms, such as co-operative teams, supplier-consumer - producer co-operatives and producers' co-operatives, closely integrating the transformation of the relations of production with the improvement of tools, increase of equipment, improvement of the techniques of production and improvement of labour organization, to lead handicrafts and the handicraftsmen to socialism.

In regard to small trade, we favour the use of various forms of supply and marketing co-operative teams, supply-marketing and production co-operative teams, co-operative stores, etc., to transform small traders along socialist lines and gradually transfer the bulk of the small traders over to production.

We favour the peaceful transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce along socialist lines through various forms of State capitalism from lower forms such as supply of raw materials, orders placed for the processing and manufacture of goods, retail distribution and commission agencies, etc., to higher forms such as State-private enterprises and also co-operative enterprises. In the course of this transformation we must combine economic, administrative and educative measures, economic transformation and ideological remoulding, gradually abolish capitalist relations of production and turn the capitalist into working people under the new system.

The socialist transformation in the North is an arduous and complex revolutionary struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path. To ensure the complete victory of socialist transformation, we must

constantly strengthen the leadership of the Party in all fields, endeavour to bring into full play the political power and managing economic role of the State, actively develop the State economic sector, heighten the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of workers and toiling people, and shatter all schemes of sabotage of the counter-revolutionaries.

3 — The central task of the whole period of transition in the northern part of our country is socialist industrialization the key point of which is the priority development of heavy industry.

Industry and agriculture are the two main branches of the national economy and are closely related to each other, industry, first and foremost, heavy industry plays the leading role, while agriculture is the foundation of industrial development. Therefore, our Party's policy concerning socialist industrialization in the North is formulated as follows: to build a balanced and modern socialist economic structure, to co-ordinate industry with agriculture and take heavy industry as the basis, to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, at the same time striving to develop agriculture and light industry, with a view to transforming our country from a backward agricultural country into one endowed with a modern industry and a modern agriculture.

We must build a system of heavy industry the structure and scale of which must be in conformity with our conditions and requirements, with the division of labour and co-operation between our country and the fraternal socialist countries. Our heavy industry will

comprise branches that our country must build and that it has the possibility of building, such as electric power, metallurgy, machine-building, mining, building materials, chemicals, etc., with the machine-building industry as the key branch.

Hand in hand with the development of heavy industry we must endeavour to develop light industry, ensure the production of almost all the commodities needed by the people, and the production of high quality goods for our export trade.

Our guiding principle relating to industrial development is : to combine large enterprises with medium and small ones, to combine modern technique with rudimentary technique, to combine the building of new enterprises with the full use of existing enterprises, and to combine the development of central industry with local industry.

In north Viet Nam, agricultural production plays a very important role in the national economy. Hand in hand with the development of industry we must endeavour to develop agriculture. Our stand is to take the development of food production as the focal task, and, at the same time, to develop agriculture all-sidedly. We must bring into full play the advantages of our tropical agriculture. We must actively build up agricultural co-operatives and develop State farms ; carry out step by step water conservancy and soil improvement work ; improve farm implements, and carry out mechanization step by step ; expand the cultivable area by increasing the number of crops, reclaiming virgin land, at the same time strongly promoting intensive cultivation and increasing productivity.

Alongside the development of industry and agriculture, we must strive to develop communications and transport to meet the requirements of the different branches of the national economy, to serve the strengthening of national defence and expand our communications and liaison with the fraternal countries.

Trade plays an important role in the national economy in the period of transition. It is necessary to strengthen the forces of State trade and marketing-purchasing co-operatives, consolidate the unified socialist market, and carry out State purchase and supply of agricultural and essential industrial goods in a planned way. On the basis of the development of production we must continue the firm stabilization of prices, re-adjusting such prices as are still irrational, struggling in every way for the reduction of prices.

We possess rich natural resources, and abundant manpower ; besides, we enjoy the immense assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries. That is why we have the conditions to carry out socialist industrialization at a high tempo. To achieve this tempo, it is necessary to ensure the balanced development of the various branches of the national economy, to ensure the balance between industry and agriculture, between heavy industry and light industry, between industry, agriculture, and communications and transport, between industry, agriculture, and other branches of the national economy.

We must make a rational distribution of the productive forces between the plains, the midland and the highland regions, re-adjust manpower between the

various regions, gradually draft plans for the different economic regions and carry out the division of labour and co-ordination between them.

We must expand and foster the forces of the workers and cadres engaged in economic construction, in the political, cultural, technical and professional fields, enhance labour protection, promote the movement of emulation for the improvement of technique, the constant raising of labour productivity ; speed up production, practise economy and struggle against bureaucracy, waste and corruption.

In co-ordination with economic development we must strengthen our national defence, actively protect the peaceful labour in the North in all spheres.

In the development of economy and culture, we must ensure an appropriate proportion between accumulation and consumption, in full accord with the economic and political requirements in different periods ; we must ensure the development of socialist economy in the North at a high tempo, and at the same time ensure the constant improvement of the livelihood of the people, on the basis of the development of production ; in production as well as in ordinary life, everybody must strive to promote the spirit of diligence and thrift in the building of the Fatherland.

As our country is a backward agricultural country advancing towards socialism, by-passing the stage of capitalist development, the aid of the socialist camp is indispensable and is a very important factor. We must make good use of the assistance of fraternal countries and at the same time develop to a high degree the

spirit of self-reliance in order to build up an independent economy, and contribute actively to the co-operation with fraternal countries.

4. Parallel with the socialist revolution in the economic field, we must strongly promote the socialist revolution in the ideological, cultural and technical fields.

The aim of the socialist revolution in the ideological field is to ensure for Marxism-Leninism an absolute predominance in the moral life of our country and to turn it into the ideology of the whole people, and, on this basis, to build the new morality of our people.

The aim of the socialist revolution in culture and technique is to give the working people an ever higher cultural level enabling them to master a necessary amount of knowledge concerning science and technique, and to apply this knowledge to the building of an advanced culture, science and technique, effectively serving the socialist revolution and constantly raising the material and cultural standards of our people.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned aims of the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, we must push forward ideological education and struggle with a view to developing the fine traditions of our people, continuously heightening the socialist consciousness of our people, their patriotism, their determination to reunify the Fatherland and their consciousness of their position as masters of the country. We must oppose all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, criticize petty-bourgeois ideology, and continue to eliminate all vestiges of feudal and other wrong ideologies.

Educational work must be developed on a broad scale aimed at bringing up the young generation as labouring people, masters of the country, having socialist consciousness, culture, technique, and good health; it must effectively serve the training of cadres and the raising of the cultural standards of the toiling people. Educational work must serve the Party's revolutionary lines and tasks. We must integrate education with productive work, theory with practice, study at school with study in society,

We must intensify scientific research work and the popularization of science and technique, laying emphasis on important questions and in a gradual and steady manner, with a view to serving production, the people's life and national defence; we must strive to train cadres for scientific research and to build necessary scientific research institution, in combination with the wide popularization of scientific and technical knowledge among the broad masses, enhance the mass movement for technical improvement, innovations and inventions. We must broaden our co-operation with the brother countries in scientific and technical research.

We must develop the new art and literature with a socialist content and a national character, having a profound Party spirit and popular character. We must firmly grasp the method of socialist realism, strive to create more works truly reflecting the new life, the new man, thus contributing to the education and mobilization of the people for the struggle for socialist revolution and national reunification.

Press, publishing, information. broadcasting, cinema and other cultural activities must really be transformed into sharper and sharper weapons of the working class on the ideological and political fronts. We must enhance their ideological, fighting and mass character. We must pay adequate attention to the work of developing libraries, conservation and museums.

We must continue to develop the movement of preventive hygiene and the movement of patriotic physical education and sports, gradually eradicate epidemics and current diseases so as to constantly improve the people's health. We must combine Western medicine with Eastern medicine. We must attend to the improvement of the housing, eating and working condition of our people, and to the protection of the health of mothers and children.

5. On the basis of the great achievements already made in economic and cultural development, and basing itself on the general line adopted by the Third National Party Congress, the Central Committee has the task of elaborating the First Five-Year Plan (1961-1965) aimed at laying the initial material and technical foundations of socialism, the achievement of a first step in socialist industrialization and the completion of socialist transformation, continuing to make the North advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily toward socialism.

Following are the fundamental tasks of the First Five-Year Plan :

a) To strive to develop industry and agriculture, to take the first step in the priority development of heavy industry, at the same time to endeavour to expand agriculture all-sidedly, to develop light industry, to develop communications and transport, to strengthen State trade and co-operative trade, to pave the way for the transformation of our country into an industrial-agricultural socialist country.

b) To complete socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce, to strengthen relations between the systems of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, and to expand socialist relations of production in the whole national economy.

c) To raise the cultural level of the people, to drive forward vigorously the work of training and fostering cadres, chiefly cadres for economic construction and skilled workers, to enhance the ability of the cadres, workers and working people in economic management, to impel forward scientific and technical work, the prospecting of our natural resources, and basic research work, with a view to meeting the needs of economic and cultural development.

d) To bring about further improvement in the material and cultural life of the people, to ensure that our people have adequate food, clothing, better health, more housing, and an opportunity to study, to develop public welfare work, to build a new life in countryside and town.

e) Alongside and in co-ordination with economic development, it is necessary to consolidate national

defence, to strengthen order and security, to protect the construction of socialism in the North.

These five tasks are closely related and are all aimed at strengthening the North in all respect and making of it an ever-steadier base for the struggle for peaceful national reunification.

6. To ensure the fulfilment of the fundamental aims and directions mentioned in the general line, alongside the strengthening of the Party's leadership, we must strengthen the people's democratic State, the political and moral unity of the people, strengthen solidarity and co-operation with the countries of the socialist camp, broaden friendly relations with countries following a policy of national independence and with peace-loving people in the world.

The people's democratic State in the North is in the present stage, the main instrument of the working class and working people in the revolutionary struggle on all fronts for the victory of socialism and national reunification.

Under the leadership of the Party, it has the task of safeguarding national independence, frustrating every act of sabotage, provocation and aggression of the U. S. - Diem clique, repressing their counter-revolutionary henchmen in the North, struggling for the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements, and for peaceful national reunification. Our people's democratic State must educate, organize and guide the people to carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction, and build up and consolidate their political and moral unity.

The State has the responsibility of guaranteeing every right and interest of the people, unceasingly broadening democracy, correctly applying the Constitution and the laws in force, building up socialist legality and educating the whole people in respect of the law ; it must promote the people's sense of being the masters, and help them raise their political and cultural level.

The people's democratic State, basing itself on the worker-peasant alliance and enjoying the support of the whole people, must practise dictatorship against the counter-revolutionaries and severely punish those who oppose the socialist revolution and the struggle for national reunification. It must strengthen and perfect the people's public security organs, people's tribunals, and people's control offices, educate the people in enhancing their revolutionary vigilance, mobilize and organize the masses to take an active part in the maintenance of order and security and in the struggle aimed at the punishment of the counter-revolutionaries, and the re-education of backward elements.

The People's Army is the main force of the State in the defence of the independence of the Fatherland, and the peaceful labour of the people in the North, at the same time it constitutes the mighty prop of the struggle for national reunification. We must strengthen and consolidate our national defence, build up a standing army to advance toward becoming a regular and modern army ; strengthen the people's armed security forces and at the same time attend to the consolidation and development of the militia and self-defence corps and to the building of reserve forces.

We must consolidate and strengthen the State organs, promote the role of the National Assembly and the People's Councils at all levels, mobilize the masses to participate in the management of the State, in economic construction and cultural development. We must strengthen the State organs at all levels, essentially the organs responsible for economic management, and for the management of the State plan, allocate to these organs more capable cadres with a high sense of responsibility. We must correctly put into practice the system of democratic centralism in the life of State organs. We must strengthen the centralized and unified leadership of the Central Government, satisfactorily carry out the division of responsibility in management between different levels, and promote the creativeness of all levels and all departments.

The people's democratic State must pay particular attention to the strengthening of its links with the masses, and exert efforts to combat bureaucracy and isolation from the masses. All cadres of State organs, in whatever position they may be, must raise their sense of responsibility to the people, wholeheartedly serving the people, practising the virtues diligence, thrift, integrity and righteousness and public spiritedness.

7. After the completion of socialist transformation, there will be radical changes in the situation of the classes in the society of the North. The new social base in the North will be the alliance between the working class and the other strata of the working people, mainly between the working class and the collective peasantry. To consolidate and develop the

socialist system, we must consolidate this new social base, and achieve political and moral unity among the people.

The working class in the North has developed its glorious revolutionary tradition, and has been in the van in the work of restoring, developing and transforming the economy. The Party must, by means of increased education, given to the working class, unceasingly enhance the sense of their vanguard role and their leading responsibility, and the sense of their obligations as allies of the working peasants; it must raise their cultural and technical level, help them bring into full play their role in socialist transformation and socialist construction. The position of the trade unions in all social activities must be raised according to the trade union law, to make the trade unions real schools of economic and State management, and of socialism and communism.

The peasantry is a great revolutionary force in our country. The Party and the State must unceasingly strengthen their work of leadership, organization and education so that the peasants may advance strongly on the path of socialist co-operation, develop production, free themselves forever from poverty and backwardness and build up a prosperous and happy life. Policies concerning the peasants must take into account their present interests combined with their ultimate interests. We must develop to the highest degree their revolutionary strength and firmly consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

In regard to handicraftsmen and small traders who have been organized, we must push ahead their

ideological education, and the struggle against the vestiges of the wrong ideology and bad habits of the old society, help them unceasingly to improve the management of production and technique, and the improvement of undertakings.

The socialist revolution requires a large and strong body of intellectuals absolutely loyal to socialism. The Party and the State must help the patriotic intellectuals to re-educate themselves and to raise their ideological level; it must strive to train new intellectuals sprung from the workers and peasants, making the ranks of intellectuals of the working class ever stronger and helping them to play to the full their active role in the building of the new society.

The youth of our country has shown its high spirit of sacrifice and its heroism in the war of resistance and in peaceful labour. It is the generation which is building socialism and will build communism in our country. We must educate and train the young generation to become fighters faithful to the Fatherland and to the communist ideal, mobilize the youth to display all the ardour of their years in the building of socialism. We must consolidate and develop strongly the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union. More importance must be attached to the organization and education of adolescents and children.

The women of our country constitute an important force in the revolution and in production. Our Party has a great responsibility in the emancipation of women, and must develop their great capacity in the interests of the building of a new society. We must foster women ideologically, raise their political and

cultural level, help them gradually to reduce the burden of family responsibilities, so that they may participate in production and social activity ; we must make use of women's labour in a rational way, thus unceasingly enhancing the role of women in production and in the management of State affairs. The Viet Nam Women's Union must unite still more broadly all the strata of women, educate and stimulate them to struggle actively for the revolutionary cause.

When the system of joint State-private ownership is completely established, the bourgeois begin to earn their living legitimately. The Party and the State must help them to continue their re-education so as to become toiling people under the new system.

Under the leadership of our Party, the majority nationality and the minority nationalities have a tradition of fraternal solidarity. The Party and the State must devise an all-sided and long-term plan to develop economy and culture in mountainous areas, consolidate existing, and build up new autonomous regions, help the mountainous areas to catch up with the plains, the minority nationalities to catch up with the majority nationality, help the nationalities to develop their revolutionary spirit and their great capacities. We must combat manifestations of great nation chauvinism and of narrow nationalism among the cadres and the people, and must promote close unity among the various nationalities so that they may advance shoulder to shoulder toward socialism.

In regard to our compatriots of various religions, the consistent policy of the Party and the State is to respect freedom of belief, to unite all patriotic and

progressive people of various religions, to unite non-religious and religious people, with a view to serving the complete liberation of the Fatherland and the common welfare.

In regard to overseas compatriots who have come back to the Fatherland, we must give them jobs so that they may play an active part in the building of the country.

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front has succeeded in uniting all classes, parties, nationalities, religions and patriotic personalities who approve socialism, and as a result has succeeded in mobilizing all the patriotic and progressive forces of the nation to build socialism in the North and to struggle for national reunification. We must constantly strengthen the work of the Front. Concerning the Viet Nam Democratic Party and the Viet Nam Socialist Party which have been playing an active role in the Front, our Party constantly unites with them in all sincerity, and stands for long term co-operation and mutual assistance, in order to advance together toward socialism, and to complete the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

8. The Vietnamese revolution is part and parcel of the international movement of struggle for socialism, national independence and world peace.

The development of the world situation at present still further proves that the theses put forth in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto are fully correct.

Today, the strength of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, from many points of view, is

greater than that of imperialism and it has become the decisive factor of the development of the world situation. The movement of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America is in full swing. The movement of the workers and working people in capitalist countries is also developing day after day. The movement of struggle for the safeguarding of peace against the danger of a new war, for the prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapons, for disarmament, etc., is rallying ever-broader masses of people all over the world.

The relation of forces on a world scale has now radically changed : the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy are visibly stronger than bellicose imperialism. This situation has created actual possibilities to prevent a new world war, and these possibilities are increasing day after day. However, so long as imperialism exists, there still is the danger of war. The warlike imperialists headed by the U.S. stubbornly continue their arms race, the establishment of military bases in foreign countries, the reinforcement of aggressive military alliances, and their policy of aggression and of warmongering. That is why the peace loving people in the world must constantly sharpen their vigilance, make still greater efforts in the struggle against bellicose imperialism to safeguard and consolidate peace, and regard it as their foremost task.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a socialist country occupying an important position in Indo-China and South-east Asia. We have the task of playing an active part in the common struggle for socialism, national independence and world peace.

The fundamental content of the foreign policy of our Government is as follows :

a) To strive to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, to the strengthening of the solidarity and unity, and to the consolidation of the unshakable friendship between our country and the brother socialist countries ; to develop the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance with the brother countries in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

b) Together with the brother countries and the peace loving and progressive people of the world, resolutely to continue fighting for the defence and consolidation of peace, opposing the policy of aggression and warmongering of the U. S. imperialists, achieving peaceful co-existence between countries having different political and social systems bringing about prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapons and general and total disarmament, liquidating military bases in foreign countries and aggressive military blocs, and advancing toward the establishment of systems of collective security in Europe and Asia.

c) To support by all our forces the movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism, for national independence ; to strengthen friendly relations with nationalist countries, to develop economic and cultural co-operation with them on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, and of the principles of the Bandung Conference.

We welcome and support the policy of peace and neutrality of Cambodia and will further strengthen our friendly relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia.

We support the struggle of the people of Laos for a genuine policy of peace and neutrality, and for national concord, and wish to establish friendly relations with the Kingdom of Laos.

We are ready to establish friendly relations with all other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

d) Resolutely to struggle for the thorough implementation of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China with a view to maintaining peace in Indo-China and South-east Asia.

e) Along with the establishment and strengthening of relations between our Government and the governments of other countries, we must expand friendly relations between our people and the people of other countries.

1. The leadership of the Party is the guarantee of every success of the revolution. In the present stage, our Party must strengthen its leadership of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North, and of the struggle for the completion of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country, and for peaceful national reunification. To do so, we must enhance the class character and the vanguard character of the Party and strengthen its fighting power, and in all our work of building the Party, we must grasp firmly this demand.

The solidarity and unity within the Party is a basic condition for uniting the entire people, giving full play to the rich revolutionary potentialities of the masses, and leading the revolution to final victory. We must endeavour to develop and enhance the tradition of solidarity and unity of our Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of the Party's lines, policies and organizational principles ; we must struggle against non-proletarian ideologies within the Party.

As a part of the strong international communist movement, our Party constantly strives to contribute to the strengthening of the solidarity and unity among the Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and of the principles laid down in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto. We must struggle actively to contribute to the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely oppose revisionism and dogmatism.

2. Raising the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of Party cadres and members is one of the most important tasks in the work of building the Party. Our Party must strengthen theoretical education among all Party cadres and members, first and foremost among high-ranking and middle-ranking cadres, to help Party cadres and members to grasp the basic elements of Marxism-Leninism and know how to apply them to the solution of concrete problems of the socialist revolution in the North and of the struggle for national reunification. The system of Party schools at all levels must be broadened and perfected ; lecturers in theory must be trained. A body of theoretical

workers must be brought into being and the Party's work in theoretical research strengthened ; the translation of classical theoretical works and the writing of popular theoretical works must be developed ; the system of Party cadres and members studying on the job must be improved, and everyone must be encouraged to study theory actively. In conducting theoretical studies, we must grasp thoroughly the guiding principle of combining theoretical study with practice.

The summing up of experiences is an extremely important method for the raising of the theoretical level and working capacity of Party cadres and members. The Congress entrusts the Central Committee with the task of organizing the summing up of our Party's experiences in leading the revolution over the past thirty years and more, of organizing the writing of the Party's history, and of drawing up regulations for the system of summing up experiences in the future.

Criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, must be regularly practised within the Party with a view to raising the ideological level, improving the work, developing strong points and overcoming in good time shortcomings and errors.

The direction of ideological work within the Party is to foster proletarian ideology, to struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology and against petty-bourgeois ideology, to continue to eliminate the vestiges of feudal ideology and all other non-proletarian ideologies. We must base ourselves on the concrete demand of the revolutionary task and on the state of mind of Party cadres and Party members and carry out our ideological work accordingly.

3. To improve Party leadership work, we must organize it in strict conformity with the principle of democratic centralism. We must strengthen and perfect the leading organs at all levels, strengthen the unified leadership of the Central Committee and the all-sided leadership of Party Committees at all levels, combat tendencies to scatteredness in leadership and bureaucratic centralism. Leading organs and responsible cadres must go deeply into practical work, keeping firm hold of the important tasks, at the same time they give strong all-sided leadership, and strengthen the work of leading the carrying out of decisions.

Party committees at all levels must correctly apply the system of collective leadership combined with the division of responsibility, and the principles of Party life. Specilized organs attached to the Central Committee and to Party committees at all levels must be strengthened to become efficient auxiliaries in taking charge of the situation and taking necessary decisions. Cumbersomeness and dissemination in organization, and disorderly and sluggish styles of work must be overcome ; organizational forms must be as light and straightforward as possible, unnecessary intermediate levels must be done away with, an expeditious and active style of work must be promoted ; organization must be perfected and strengthened at those levels and those departments where this is seen to be necessary.

4. We must strengthen the links between the Party and the masses. Cadres and Party members must be educated in the mass line, and must overcome bureaucracy and commandism. A system must be established for cadres at all levels to get in close touch

with reality and the masses ; to go down regularly to basic units to investigate and study the real situation to learn from and sum up the experiences of the masses, and to give timely answers to their national proposals. Party leadership of mass organizations must be strengthened, and the role of these organizations developed to the full in mobilizing the masses for the implementation of Party line and policy and in advising the Party of their aspirations and opinions.

5. Training and fostering cadres, and constantly increasing their strength is an extremely important task of our Party. The line of Party's cadres work is to pay attention to selecting, fostering and promoting cadres from among the best workers and peasants, and at the same time, to selecting, fostering and promoting intellectual cadres having close ties with the workers and peasants and wholeheartedly devoted to the service of the workers and peasants.

Side by side with the strengthening of the political and ideological education of cadres, we must pay attention to giving them complementary general education and raising their knowledge of economy, science, technique, and professional matters. Attention must be paid to fostering cadres of various nationalities, southern cadres, and women cadres, and to developing the capacity and the role of young cadres. In regard to commune cadres, we must foster their working capacity in all respects ; at the same time an appropriate policy must be worked out to care for them.

6 — To satisfy the new demands of the socialist revolution now in full swing in the North, we must attach paramount importance to the strengthening of basic Party organizations, and must constantly expand the ranks of the Party ; particular attention must be paid to their expansion among the workers. Primary Party organizations and Party branches must be units of leadership and struggle, directly putting socialist transformation and socialist construction into practice. Party members must set an example in their everyday work. We must strive to foster primary Party organizations in the countryside, enterprises and other places, to enable them to achieve all-sided leadership, above all leadership of production work.

The primary Party organization must actually lead the Labour Youth Union branch to implement the Party line and policy.

* * *

The Third National Congress of our Party is an event of paramount importance in the political life of our Party and people. This Congress is the Congress of socialist construction in the North, and of the struggle for national reunification. Representing the will of the whole Party, the Congress has discussed and unanimously adopted the revolutionary lines and tasks of the Party in the new stage. To successfully fulfil the revolutionary tasks and lines adopted by the Congress means to achieve the tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

The revolutionary struggle and the building of a new life for our people are carried out under favourable historical circumstances ; however, the path leading to final victory will still be difficult and arduous. Our whole Party and people must unite single-mindedly, develop to the highest degree the traditions of heroic struggle and diligent labour, strive to overcome difficulties, frustrate every scheme and action of the enemy, safeguard and develop the fruits of the revolution — immediately, struggle for the successful fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan and promote the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country. The successes we have achieved are extremely important, but compared to all the revolutionary tasks we must continue with and perform, they are but the first steps in a thousand-mile march. Our whole Party must be fully aware of its heavy but very glorious tasks. All Party members, must compete with one another in setting a good example in every activity, constantly fostering the heroic spirit of combativeness of the Communists, thus fulfilling our tasks in the new stage.

Let our whole Party and people strengthen their unity, and heroically advance under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, and the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism !

APPEAL
OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

Dear compatriots,

Dear comrades,

The Viet Nam Workers' Party is holding its Third National Congress following the jubilant commemoration of the 15th anniversary of the great August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Congress is held at a moment when the countries of the socialist camp, headed by the great Soviet Union, are recording great and brilliant successes in the building of socialism and communism, when the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism are growing stronger than ever and are scoring continual splendid victories.

For many months, now the people all over our country have been enthusiastically engaged in patriotic emulation to greet the Congress with their achievements. This is proof of our people's love for and confidence in the Party, the organizer of all revolutionary struggles and all splendid victories of our people over the last 30 years.

The Second Party Congress was the Congress which drove the Resistance forward to victory.

The present Third Party Congress is the Congress of socialist construction in the North and of struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Each Congress of the Party marks a big step forward of our people along the path of solidarity, struggle

and victory. Each congress also marks a step of our Party towards maturity in all respects, making it more and more worthy of being the leader of our people in their struggle — a struggle crowned with successive victories.

At this Congress, we have had the honour to receive the delegations of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and of other friendly parties within the Front. The delegates of the Front and of the friendly parties within the Front have voiced their trust in the Party and their spirit of long-term co-operation with it.

At the Congress, we have had the honour to receive the delegations of fraternal parties within our socialist camp and throughout the world. The comrades delegates from fraternal parties have brought us the solidarity and friendship and the warm support of the working class and toiling people of the socialist camp and all over the world. This is a great and precious encouragement to our whole Party and our whole people.

The present Congress has reviewed the work done by our Party from the Second Congress up to the present. The Congress notes that over the last nine years, under the correct leadership of the Party, our people have recorded very great victories, carrying the Resistance forward to victory completing the land reform, leading the North to socialism, maintaining and promoting the patriotic movement in the South. On the basis of the achievements already recorded, and stemming from the present situation in our country and in the world, the Congress has decided the Party's general line in the transitional period leading the North to socialism, the tasks and directions of the

First Five-Year Plan and the line for the completion of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country and the achievement of peaceful national reunification ; the Congress has also approved the new Party Constitution and elected the new Central Committee of the Party.

The questions discussed and decided by the Congress are questions of prime importance for the revolutionary cause of our people, conforming to the requirements of the situation and the aspirations of our compatriots. They have the effect of lighting the way to the whole Party and the whole people and mobilizing them to advance towards the fulfilment of new tasks and the winning of new victories.

Congress calls on the whole Party and the whole people to endeavour to struggle for the transformation of the historic resolutions of the Congress into reality ; to promote a vigorous revolutionary movement, to mobilize the people to participate in powerful and uninterrupted emulation in order to lead the North rapidly, vigorously and steadily towards socialism and to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country in conformity with the Geneva Agreements.

Congress calls on the whole Party and the whole people in the North to raise the level of their ideology and their socialist ardour ; to enhance socialist ethics and ways of life. Let the whole people march forward, overcoming all difficulties to overfulfil the 1960 Plan and prepare for the turn over to the successful fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan. This Plan aims at achieving initial socialist industrialization, completing socialist transformation, developing culture, science

and technique, and, on this basis, raising the living standards of the people, strengthening the power of the North in all respects, making of it a solid basis for the struggle to reunify the country.

Congress calls on our compatriots in the South to unite closely and broadly within the National United Front, further promoting the patriotism and revolutionary traditions of our people, maintaining and further developing the movement in opposition to the U.S. and Diem, demanding the preservation of peace, national independence, democratic freedoms, improvement of the people's life and peaceful national reunification.

Congress sends its most affectionate greetings and the expressions of its belief in final victory to our southern brothers and sisters. Our country is one, our nation is one. Certainly our country will be reunified, the North and the South will reunite in one family.

Congress calls on all Party cadres and members, and Labour Youth Union members to promote the revolutionary traditions of the Party, to unite and to be single-minded around the Central Committee headed by our revered President Ho Chi Minh, and to fight on selflessly, courageously and perseveringly under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism in order to put into practice the resolutions of the Congress and to lead the revolutionary cause of our people towards bigger victories.

Congress is confident that under the correct leadership of the Party, our people will certainly be victorious in the building of socialism in the North and

successful in the achievement of peaceful national reunification ; we will certainly build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, contributing to the consolidation of the solidarity and unity of the socialist camp and to the enhancement of its power, as well as to the safeguarding of peace in South-east Asia and in the world.

CLOSING ADDRESS
by
PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Dear Comrades,

Our Third Party Congress has been crowned with very splendid success, and today reaches the end of its work.

On behalf of the Congress and more than half a million Party members, I would like to express our warmest thanks to the fraternal Parties of the socialist countries and of many other countries for having sent delegates to attend the Congress and for messages of greetings full of the feelings of proletarian internationalism, encouraging our Party and our people to advance towards new successes.

I wish to thank our compatriots throughout the country who have enthusiastically engaged in emulation to welcome the Congress with their achievements, and who have been following the work of the Congress daily, in full confidence.

I wish also to express thanks to the comrades cadres and personnel of the Congress organization, who have spared no effort to serve the Congress heart and soul.

I warmly congratulate the comrades delegates who have been working zealously in a spirit of solidarity and unity of mind and in a most energetic and intensive manner.

Dear Comrades,

The great success of our present Party Congress lies in the following :

- Defining the general line for the transition to socialism in the North and the line for the struggle to achieve peaceful national reunification.

- Defining the organizational line which will strengthen the fighting capacity and the leadership of the Party in the new revolutionary stage.

- Electing the new Central Committee of our Party.

The Second Congress led the Resistance to victory. It is certain that the Third Congress will represent a new source of light and new strength for our whole Party and our whole people in their successful building of socialism in the North and their struggle to achieve peaceful national reunification.

Many difficulties still confront us, but we will surely overcome them all, for we are guided by the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. We have with us the whole mighty socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union, more than 80 fraternal Parties with more than 35 million comrades united as one, and all the great forces of national independence, peace and democracy throughout the world, helping and supporting us. All our cadres and members are closely united, and are resolved to turn the resolutions of the Congress into the will of the whole people to win new victories.

Each of our Party members must be an active and exemplary fighter, worthy of the confidence of the Party and the people.

Each of our Party branches must be a firm nucleus, leading the people in patriotic emulation and promoting diligence and thrift in national construction.

Each Party Committee must be a strong lever urgently impelling the revolutionary movement forward.

The Central Committee pledges to devote all its energy and strength to leading the whole Party and the whole people in the successful fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the Congress.

Ours is an heroic people. In the Resistance, our people fought valiantly, sacrificed their lives, and won great victories. At present, in the struggle to build a new life and a new society and to reunify the country by peaceful means, although we will encounter many hardships, it is certain that we will be fully successful.

On behalf of the Congress, I call on our compatriots throughout the country to march forward with enthusiasm, to strive, all of them, to become advanced working people, advanced militants.

Fifteen years ago, our Party had only 5,000 members and conditions then were extremely difficult; nevertheless our Party led the August Revolution to victory. Today, our Party has more than half a million comrades, and conditions are very favourable for us; therefore our Party will certainly lead the socialist revolution to success, and the struggle for national reunification to victory.

Our whole Party and our whole people are uniting closely into one mighty bloc. We are creating. We are building. We are marching forward. No force can hinder our march from victory to victory.

**Long live a peaceful, unified, independent,
democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam !**

**Long live the solidarity and unity of the countries
of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union !**

**Long live the solidarity and unity of the Com-
munist and Workers' Parties throughout the world !**

Long live victorious Marxism-Leninism !

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party !

ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	INSTEAD OF	PLEASE READ
14	10	fuffilling	fulfilling
33	24	tituded	tituted
36	16	bloo	bloc
39	13	power.	power,
42	16	rovolution	revolution
46	9	natonial	national
48	20	115.000	115,000
91	last but one	internationalims	internationalism
104	12	found	given
150	10	masses of the people	masses of people
162	27	at its basis	as its basis
192	22	backward agricultural	agriculturally backward
196	32	ystematic	systematic
206	17	ethnic	national
230	31	handricraft	handicraft
235	21	contant	constant
247	32	nationnal	national

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE !

THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE
VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

DOCUMENTS
VOLUME II

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party is in four volumes. Volume one contains five documents of the Congress. Volume two contains a report on the tasks and directions of the First Five-Year Plan for the development of national economy. Volume three contains a selection of 10 addresses made by delegates. Volume four contains speeches made by representatives of the fraternal parties, telegrams and messages of greeting read at the Congress.

**TASKS AND DIRECTIONS SET
FOR THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMY
(1961-1965)**

by **Nguyen Duy Trinh**

(Supplementary Report
to the Third National Congress)

September 1960

Dear Comrades,

The 1960 Plan and the Three-Year Plan will soon be completed ; from 1961 onwards, we will embark on the First Five-Year Plan.

In the course of preparation for the Third National Party Congress, the Central Committee has discussed the tasks and directions of the Five-Year Plan, and has entrusted the State Planning Commission and a number of responsible comrades of the economic and cultural departments with the task of working out a set of draft control figures of the Five-Year Plan.

As study work is still in the initial stages and detailed investigations have still to be made in various departments and at various levels to ensure accuracy, the Central Committee has presented to the Congress, in Chapter IV of its Political Report, only the fundamental tasks and the main lines of the Five-Year Plan. Once approved by the Congress these tasks and lines will be the basis upon which the Central Committee will rely in leading the drawing up of the draft plan, and in deciding upon the recommendations for the First Five-Year Plan.

With the authority of the Central Committee, I am going to make a supplementary report regarding the tasks and directions of the First Five-Year Plan on the development of the national economy (1961-1965). The substance of this supplementary report, based on

the results of Central Committee discussions, combined with the results of the study of the draft control figures, is aimed at explaining more clearly the tasks and directions of the Five-Year Plan which have been mentioned in the political report.

I

APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH AFTER FULFILMENT OF THE THREE-YEAR PLAN

Since the re-establishment of peace, the Northern part of our country has entered the period of transition to socialism. Under the leadership of our Party and with the whole-hearted assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries, the working people of the North, rising with a new revolutionary urge, have successfully fulfilled the tasks of land reform and economic rehabilitation, and are now bringing to completion the Three-Year Plan for the development and transformation of the economy and for the development of culture.

These big victories of socialism and peace are the continuation of the great victories of the August Revolution and the heroic Resistance of our people. They testify to an eloquent reality : under the leadership of the Party of the working class, the people of a

small, weak and economically backward country can develop to the full their potentialities, defeat colonial and feudal enemies, win real independence and freedom, and use their rights as masters of their destiny to prosecute economic and cultural development along the socialist path, rapidly leading their country out of backwardness, poverty and hunger, to advance toward the building of an advanced economy and culture, bringing happiness to the entire people. These big victories also testify to the superiority of the people's democratic system and the rich revolutionary capabilities of our people in the North now engaged in socialist construction ; at the same time they testify to the irresistible development of the heroic fight of our compatriots in the South and the struggle of our people throughout the country against the U. S. imperialists and their agents, for the achievement of national reunification, the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam. Firmly grasping the lessons drawn from the experiences accumulated in thirty years and more of our revolutionary movement, and strictly implementing our Party's revolutionary line in the new stage, we will surely win still greater victories ; no reactionary force can check our people's progress.

The socialist revolution in the North has been going on for only six years ; this is but a short stage on our long march towards socialism and communism. We have won initial but very important victories.

1. All departments of economy and culture are beginning to develop at a high rate *

By the end of 1960, the gross value of agricultural and industrial output will have doubled as compared with 1955; taken separately, agriculture will have increased by 43.5%, and industry and handicrafts by 384.5%. In the first years of economic restoration, the value of the 1956 industrial and handicraft output nearly doubled as compared with 1955; from 1956 to 1960, the average annual increase of industrial and handicraft output was 25.1%. As for agriculture, from 1955 to 1959, value of output increased constantly; in 1960 as an exception, it may be lower than in 1959, but it will still be higher than in 1958. If we compare the value of 1959 agricultural output with that of 1955, the increase is 52.4%, an average annual increase of 11.2%.

Agriculture and industry develop side by side; thanks to the more rapid growth of industry, the balance between industry and agriculture has begun to be progressively re-adjusted:

	1955	1957	1960
Industry and agriculture :	100	100	100
Industry and handicrafts	16.9	31.4	40
Agriculture	83.1	68.6	60

In regard to agriculture, in 1960, owing to many difficulties arising from bad weather conditions, the

* The 1960 figures used in this section represent only estimated degree of fulfilment of the 1960 Plan. In some connections, as 1960 figures are not available, 1959 statistics are used for the time being.

summer crop partly failed and consequently, the plan for the whole year will not be fulfilled. To have a correct assessment of the development of our agriculture, we must consider a number of years together. The North produced in 1955, 3,893,000 tons of foodstuffs, including 3,523,000 tons of paddy; in 1959, 5,700,000 tons of foodstuffs, including 5,193,000 tons of paddy. The per capita average output of foodstuffs increased from 286.8 kilograms to 367.2 kilograms; paddy alone increased from 259.5 kilograms to 334 kilograms. The per hectare output of paddy has also increased from 16.4 quintals to 22.84 quintals. Only five years after the restoration of peace, the northern part of our country, originally an area of very low agricultural production and seriously damaged by the war, won first place among South-East Asian countries both in per hectare average output of foodstuffs and in per capita output of foodstuffs. That is a victory of great economic and political significance. Besides, our agriculture, formerly one-sided, began to develop all-sidedly. Foodstuffs increased rapidly and continued to hold first place, but industrial crops, and livestock-breeding increased even more rapidly; that is why, from 1955 to 1959, the proportion in total agricultural output of food crops decreased from 54.5% to 52.5%, that of industrial crops increased from 1.7% to 3.2%, and that of livestock-breeding increased from 14.6% to 19.4%.

As regards industry, by the end of 1960, we will have 172 centrally run enterprises. The gross value of the output of State industry in 1960 may exceed the plan by as much as 3.8% and be more than double

that of 1957. Local State industry in its initial development accounts for 19% of the value of State industrial output. In 1959, labour productivity in all departments of State industry was 3.8 times that for 1955 and more than 60% better than in 1957. Handicrafts have been encouraged, and in 1960 their output will be almost double that of 1955 compared with 1957, the increase is 34%.

The output of major industrial and handicraft products has increased rather rapidly. Over the six years, the increase was 3.8 times for electricity, 2.8 times for coal, 3.5 times for cement, twice for timber, over 6 times for phosphates... The machine-building industry, formerly non-existent, now possesses its first bases and produces a number of small and medium-sized machine-tools, brick and tile moulding machines, rice-husking machines, tug-boats, motor-boats, railway carriages, telephone apparatus, etc. ; it is now providing agriculture with tens of thousands of improved farm implements, a number of mechanical pumps, small agricultural machines and a number of kinds of accessories which used to be imported. In the matter of iron and steel, simultaneously with the setting up of the Thai Nguyen iron and steel combine. We have built in other localities six small blast-furnaces with a total volume of 56 cubic metres and an estimated annual output of about 10,000 tons of cast-iron ; this has been a good lesson in leading the masses in grasping technique and utilizing natural resources, a good example of the industriousness and creativeness of the masses in productive labour. In the matter of building materials, we are now able to produce fire-bricks, and

various kinds of pre-fabricated concretes. The chemical industry has produced sulphuric acids, and insecticides. Also, in the last six years, the output of cotton textiles increased more than 8.5 times, sugar and molasses more than 3 times, salt 1.5 times, cigarettes more than twofold, matches 5.5 times, paper 4.5 times. New varieties of goods have been produced in the matter of textile fabrics, knitwear, plastics, enamelled ironware, household utensils, stationery, bicycle tyres and inner tubes, and pharmaceutical products.

For nearly a century the economy of our country was reduced to backwardness and dependence by the French colonialists ; as regards industry, there were only a small number of rudimentary establishments exploiting raw materials, and processing enterprises with worn-out equipment. Furthermore almost all the industrial bases were heavily damaged by the war ; when peace was restored, the French colonialists conniving with the U. S. - Diem clique and their lackeys, dismantled the greater part of the machinery and took it to the South. The situation has since undergone noticeable changes ; the economic structure of the North is taking shape, the needed departments already have a number of bases, supplying an important proportion of the required means of production and consumer goods. In the socialist industrialization of our country, we have made only a first step : many difficulties have yet to be overcome, but fundamental advantages exist ; we enjoy the assistance of the fraternal countries in equipment and in technique ; our natural resources are relatively abundant : our cadres and workers are studious and can make rapid

progress. The emulation movement for the promotion of initiatives and technical innovations in various departments of industry has recently recorded new progress, for instance at the Coc Sau construction site of the Hong Gai coal mines, in the Nam Dinh textile mill, the Hanoi engineering plant, in several automobile repair shops and in the work of the geological prospecting group No. 8, etc. We must foster and encourage the growth of these young buds of progress, and regularly and constantly expand this movement.

As regards communications and transport, by the end of 1959, we had re-habilitated, consolidated and built 720 kilometres of railways and 2,910 kilometres of roads. The Haiphong, Hong Gai, Cua Ong, and Ben Thuy harbours had been dredged and expanded. The volume of freight in kilometre-tons was up 3.5 times as compared with 1955, and 1.5 times as compared with 1957. In the last three years, the freight volume carried by our railways has increased more than twofold ; by sea and river transport almost twofold ; by motor road transport, 1.5 times. Although the communications and transport service is not yet meeting all economic and defence requirements, it has nevertheless made definite efforts and achieved some progress. The recent emulation drive for "freeing the shoulders" at a number of construction sites and in certain localities, the movement to raise transport efficiency and for good maintenance of vehicles in a number of enterprises must be fully encouraged and actively promoted.

In the cultural field, we have fundamentally wiped out illiteracy in the plains among adults under 50 :

more than 10 million people have learnt to read and write. The movement for complementary general education is in full swing. In 1960, one adult out of ten is attending spare-time classes. In general education, the total number of pupils has reached 1,815,000, showing an increase of 150% over 1955 and 80% over 1957. In order to expand the training of cadres, we have set up new secondary vocational schools and higher educational institutions, and sent an increasing number of students and practitioners to the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries. In 1960, not counting 2,400 students studying abroad, we had at home 9 higher educational institutions with 11,070 students, a twofold increase over 1957 ; 50 secondary vocational schools with 26,330 pupils, an increase of 2.3 times over 1957. In the movement to build socialist schools, teaching and study methods have made definite progress. At the restoration of peace, we had only some 700 specialized cadres with higher education ; in six years we have trained nearly 2,500 cadres with higher education, and over 10,000 cadres with secondary vocational education. Scientific and technical work is beginning to be organized and is on the move. Thanks to the valuable help of the delegation of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, we are mapping out a long-term plan for the development of science and technology with a view to meeting satisfactorily the requirements of the development of socialist economy and culture.

On the basis of the development of production, the material life of the people has gradually and visibly improved. In 1959, per capita income increased by

19.3% compared with 1957 ; the real average income per head of the peasants increased by 14.8%. From 1955 to 1959, the real wages of workers and employees increased by 33% ; their wages in 1960 were 25% higher than in 1957. After being twice reformed with a view to implementing step by step the principle of payment according to work done, the system of workers and employees' wages has been made more rational and has gradually achieved good results in promoting enthusiasm in production and work. To solve the housing problem in part, over the past six years, the State has spent over 145 million dong for the building of about one and a half million square metres of durable and semi-durable housing. The enhanced activity in disease prevention and clinical treatment has made an important contribution to the preservation of the people's health. Unemployment left over from the old regime in cities and towns has been fundamentally eliminated ; over one hundred thousand unemployed have been given work. Commodity prices are tending to ever greater stability ; the index of retail prices in 1959 was 89.2% as compared with 1957 ; meanwhile the people's purchasing power has increased by 15.1%.

2. Socialism is gradually winning a predominant position in the North

Alongside the above-mentioned achievements in developing production, improving the people's material and cultural standards, socialist transformation, the establishment of the socialist relations of production

and the expansion of capital construction have recorded great victories. These victories have exerted a decisive influence on the overall progress of the North.

The movement for agricultural co-operation has become a widespread and deep-going mass movement which closely coordinates transformation of the relations of production with ideological remoulding, improvement of farm tools and improvement of techniques aimed at increasing production. It is estimated that by the end of 1960, 70 to 75% of the total number of toiling peasant households will have joined agricultural co-operatives, the great majority of which are of elementary type, those of advanced type grouping 7 to 8% of the total number of peasant households. Despite some shortcomings in the implementation of the line and various difficulties in management, the movement for agricultural co-operation has developed soundly and fundamentally well ; many co-operatives are taking the lead in improving technique, carrying out water conservancy work, making and using fertilizers, etc., thus increasing their members' income and making a first step in embodying the superiority of co-operatives over individual farming.

In handicrafts, over recent times, the movement for cooperation has developed rather steadily and strongly ; by June 1960, 67.8% of the full-time handicraftsmen had joined various co-operative organizations, 44.2% of them joining various co-operatives. Many co-operatives have exerted a good influence, striving to improve tools and techniques, relying on their existing capabilities to overcome difficulties as to

shortage of materials, to produce new varieties of goods and to cut production costs.

Among the small traders, more than half have joined various co-operative organizations ; 5.5% have shifted to production. In the towns in particular, almost all small traders in key branches have been organized. Thanks to socialist ideological education, these small traders have, in general, made great progress in carrying out policies, in stabilizing commodity prices, and in serving the consumers ; many are able to take part in production in their spare time, thus increasing their earnings.

As regards private capitalist industry and commerce, socialist transformation has won a victory of a decisive character. By the end of this year, all establishments belonging to the various departments of industry, commerce, transport, cultural and art undertakings, will have been transformed into joint State-private enterprises, or co-operative enterprises, with a total of about 57 million dong of registered capital. In all joint State-private enterprises, trade-union organizations have been set up ; Labour Youth Union organizations have also been set up wherever young people work ; in many enterprises, we have recruited new Party members from among the workers, thereby strengthening political leadership and enhancing the workers' role as masters of the enterprises. In the economic field, all the joint State-private enterprises have made great progress in the use of labour power and machinery, and a number of them have improved and expanded their equipment ; that is why their labour productivity and output have visibly increased.

In general, the task of socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade, and capitalist industry and commerce proposed by the Resolutions of the 14 th and 16 th Plenums of the Central Committee will be successfully completed. In the course of socialist transformation, the political, ideological, economic, and cultural situation of the North has made important progress. By the end of 1960, it can be said that socialist transformation will have won a victory of decisive character, although the struggle to solve the problem " who will win ", between socialism and capitalism, still has to be carried on. After the land reform, the feudal system of ownership was eliminated in the North ; after the completion of socialist transformation, the capitalist system of ownership and the capitalist path of development will also be eliminated. These revolutionary changes have great historical significance, they free northern society from exploitation of man by man, opening the way for the complete victory of socialism, and stimulating the constant development of the productive forces.

Alongside the promotion of socialist transformation and the building of the co-operative economic sector and the State capitalist economic sector, the State economic sector has been constantly expanded and strengthened, firmly grasping its leading role in the national economy. The movement for the improvement of enterprise management was completed, basically satisfying the demand of initial establishment of a socialist managerial system in State enterprises. Following the expansion of construction sites and enterprises, the number of workers and employees on

the payroll of the State productive sector in 1960 is about 255,000, i.e., more than twice the 1955 figures. State industry accounts for 49.5% of the gross value of 1960 industrial and handicraft output ; the proportion represented by State trade in 1960 is 47.8% of the total retail sales in trade proper. State transport is carrying 75.6% of the gross freight volume. In total, the State enterprises, joint State-private enterprises and handicraft co-operatives account for 73.1% of the gross value of 1960 industrial and handicraft output ; State trade, marketing-purchasing co-operatives, and State capitalist trade account for 91.5% of the total retail sales in trade proper.

For the development of capital construction in economy and culture, in six years from 1955 to 1960, the State has invested 2,155,200,000 dong. In the 1958-60 Three-Year Plan period, the total investment in capital construction increased by 130.7% compared with the three years of economic restoration ; capital invested in 1960 was more than fivefold that of 1955.

In total State investments in capital construction from 1958 to 1960, the share devoted to agriculture was 12.6% ; industry, 41.1% ; posts and communications, 20.6% ; trade, 7.6% ; various departments of culture, education, health, scientific research, 8.6% ; housing, public amenities and administrative organs, 9.5%.

In agriculture, in the last three years, the State has built 19 major water conservancy projects, ensuring the irrigation of 1,530,000 hectares of land. Combining their efforts with the State's, our people have contribute tens of millions of work-days in the work of

strengthening and enlarging river and sea dikes and in developing minor water conservancy projects. All told, the major and medium water conservancy projects which were restored, enlarged or newly-built, ensure the irrigation of 55% of the sown area ; if we include the minor water conservancy projects built by the people, the irrigated area accounts for 70% of the sown area.

In industry, by the end of 1960, 170 of the projected 172 centrally-run enterprises will have been expanded or newly built ; besides, 24 enterprises which are under construction will be transferred to the First Five-Year Plan. Since 1959, 500 local industrial establishments have been set up. With the development of industry, a number of new industrial areas such as Thai Nguyen, Viet Tri, Thanh Hoa, Vinh... are springing up ; Hanoi, the capital, is acquiring many more new enterprises, and is being transformed into an industrial city.

To serve the development of capital construction, especially in industry, geological prospecting work has made substantial progress.

In the execution and management of construction work, we have taken a step towards maturity. Extraction and transportation of materials have presented many difficulties, but, generally speaking, all departments and localities have striven to meet the requirements. The management of the use of materials and technical management have gradually been regularized ; waste is decreasing, the quality of the work is improving. Alongside the improvement of implements and of building and installation techniques, we have begun to

extend the mechanization of the construction work, concentrating manpower, means and materials for key construction projects. The method of construction of installing pre-fabricated parts is beginning to be applied.

3. The successes achieved are common successes of our Party, our people and international co-operation.

The above - mentioned progress shows that since the re-establishment of peace, the national economy in the North has been soundly restored and developed along the socialist path. Under the influence of socialist ideology, and on the basis of socialist and semi-socialist relations of production, which are gradually acquiring a predominant position, the mass movement is continually growing and becoming more and more widespread and deep-going ; all departments of activity are developing at a high tempo ; the structure of the national economy has been re-adjusted and is becoming more and more balanced. These are the first results of deep revolutionary changes which will constantly develop, ensuring further rapid progress in the socialist construction of the North.

These achievements prove that our Party's policies concerning economic restoration and the development and transformation of economy and development of culture are correct. Following the re-establishment of peace, we have, in a co-ordinated way, carried through land reform and economic restoration, paying attention to the maintenance of a firm grip on the leadership of agriculture and trade and striving to stabilize the

economic and political situation in countryside and town. In the Three-Year Plan period, we have closely co-ordinated socialist transformation and socialist construction, laying stress on socialist transformation and have actively mobilized the masses to struggle for the solution of the problem "who will win", between socialism and capitalism. In the conditions of a backward agricultural economy ravaged by a protracted war, we have firmly grasped the key link of the economic task which consists in striving to restore and develop agriculture, at the same time speeding up the restoration and development of industry and handicrafts, giving due attention to the production of consumer goods and making a step forward in developing production of means of production. The decision of our Party regarding the restoration and development of agriculture and industry in the last few years was in complete accordance with the situation of the North. On the one hand, it has helped to meet the present needs of the national economy, on the other it has prepared conditions for socialist industrialization in the years to come. We have attended to the simultaneous development of economy and culture so that they stimulate each other in their development. We have attended to the socialist ideological education of Party members and the masses, to the constant improvement of the people's life, to the promotion of the revolutionary enthusiasm and labour capacity of the masses, to the speeding up of socialist transformation and socialist construction, and of the emulation drive for technical improvement, higher labour productivity, reduction of production costs, increased production and the practice

of economy. By constantly strengthening its leading role and using the people's democratic dictatorship to carry out the historic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, our Party has led the masses in struggle to win great successes and to ensure the daily more predominant position of socialism. Our Party has also grasped the law of the rapid development of socialism, put forward the slogan of "rapid, vigorous and steady progress", attached importance to simultaneously developing and strengthening the mass movement, and stimulated the cadres and the masses to sweep forward enthusiastically in all departments and all fields of activity.

Under the leadership of our Party, the working people in the North have brought into full play their role as masters of the country, their traditions of patriotism and industriousness, and have tirelessly struggled for socialism and national reunification. The workers, whose ranks are growing and being strengthened with every passing day, have clearly displayed their vanguard role in socialist transformation, in production, in construction and in study. The bulk of the peasants and handicraftsmen, erstwhile comrades-in-arms of the workers whose interests coincide with those of the workers, have begun to realize that the capitalist path of development is disastrous and are more and more resolute in following the path of socialist co-operation. The People's Army has incessantly displayed the vitality of its traditions of sacrifice for the people, it has day and night engaged in training to enhance our defence capacity, and, at the same time, it has taken an active part in all fields of activity, effectively contributing to speeding up the development

and transformation of economy and the development of culture. The intellectuals have received initial ideological remoulding; their ranks have been broadened and they have made important contributions to the building of a socialist north Viet Nam. Merging with the various strata of the working people in the North, regrouped cadres and fellow-citizens from the South have shown very high patriotic spirit, made many achievements in all fields of activity and taken an active part in the consolidation of the North, effectively co-ordinating it with the heroic struggle of our compatriots in the South. Treading the path pointed out by the Party, the working people of our country are a great force, the creator of all revolutionary achievements. The ever-rising socialist consciousness of the masses is the motive power for the development of all departments of activity and the guarantee of the victory of socialism.

In its condition of economic backwardness, the northern part of our country can advance straight to socialism and rapidly develop the socialist economy and culture thanks, on the one hand, to the efforts made by our own people, and on the other, to the immense assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries. In the period of economic restoration, our State industry was very weak; however, thanks to the assistance of the fraternal countries in industrial goods, we have been able to expand the activities of State trade, and through the exchange of goods between the State and the peasantry, strengthened the alliance between workers and peasants, stabilized the market and pushed forward production.

The fraternal countries have in particular granted us all-sided aid in funds, equipment, raw materials, technique and technicians ; thanks to this aid, we have laid the first foundations of socialism, gradually developed our capacity to be self-sufficient, speeded up the development of industry and of the whole national economy and extended and strengthened socialist relations of production. Besides, we have learnt from the valuable experiences of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries, thereby leading socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North to advance steadily. Moreover, the giant strides made by the Soviet Union in the construction of communism, its great achievements in science and technology, the big leaps forward made by China and the other fraternal countries in the construction of socialism, are a great moral help to us, increasing our confidence, enthusiasm and fighting spirit.



Our revolution is developing in very favourable conditions but we do not minimize our difficulties and shortcomings.

The movement for agricultural co-operation is rapidly developing ; many new co-operatives have been set up, the majority of which still have only a semi-socialist character, their consolidation is not keeping pace with their expansion. Besides weaknesses in economic management work, ideological education in the co-operatives is still inadequate ; the socialist

consciousness of a rather high proportion of co-operative members is still low, many do not really consider the affairs and interests of the co-operatives as their own, they easily become pessimistic and wavering when production encounters difficulties. The policy of State purchasing of agricultural products and foods, an important link for the achievement of economic alliance between workers and peasants, and a means of strengthening their political alliance, is not being correctly implemented by many co-operatives and co-operative members, including a number of Party members. Among the cadres, there are still manifestations of lack of thorough understanding of the State policy concerning the management of food supplies. The peasants' worries have not been adequately dealt with; their tendency to keep their paddy for themselves is still a serious problem. Our peasants are very good people; they have firm confidence in the leadership of the Party; but they have not shed all the ideas and habits of the old system of doing business individually, which prevailed particularly among the upper middle peasants. We understand very well that this negative side is not essential and can be remedied. The movement for agricultural co-operation cannot avoid twists and turns, but through these trials it will be strengthened and become firmer. The point is that our leadership work should be satisfactorily carried out and first of all the ideological education of the peasants should be enhanced.

On the basis of the expanding relations of collective production, the productive forces are beginning to develop, but generally speaking, the level of production

is still low and techniques are still backward. Agricultural production is still to a great extent dependent on nature and permanently threatened by drought, storm and flood. The rudimentary means of production have been improved only to a small extent, there is still a shortage of forces of traction, the improvement of technique has not been vigorously promoted. No stable solution has yet been brought to the food problem ; other departments of agriculture such as the cultivation of industrial crops, livestock breeding, etc., are still inadequately developed. Labour productivity in agriculture is still low ; so is the degree of utilization of labour power ; production costs are still high ; and consequently the peasant's income has not much increased and his life is still far from being comfortable.

In handicrafts the improvement of techniques and implements has been applied as yet only on a limited scale : many branches face shortages of raw materials, their production is restricted, thus exerting an unhealthy influence upon the life of a section of the handicraftsmen.

Our management of enterprises and construction sites has undergone initial improvement, but it is still not keeping pace with the requirements of the development of the productive forces and has not brought into full play the labour enthusiasm of the workers. There is a great shortage of technical cadres and skilled workers, technical leadership and management are still loose ; the maintenance and use of machines still leave much to be desired ; they are frequently damaged but

there are no spare parts available to get them functioning again ; in general the degree of utilization of the capacity of our equipment is still low. Raw materials and materials produced in the country are not rationally distributed, at certain times and places, their transportation has been tardy. Many important raw materials and materials have to be imported. Irregularity in supplies, especially of iron, steel and timber, has caused waste of manpower and has adversely affected capital construction and production.

Since our task is to consolidate and defend the North, we must closely combine economic development with the reinforcement of national defence, but this is still not being done well. We have exerted efforts to develop communications and transport ; however we are still not keeping pace with economic as well as national defence needs.

As far as leadership work is concerned, we have a number of shortcomings : in planning, we have been more or less subjective ; some indices were too high, thereby bringing about a tense situation in the course of their implementation. A number of departments did not fulfil their plans, thus causing a measure of discouragement in these departments. A number of concrete policies were not formulated or amended in time ; control was not very strict ; cases of corruption and waste are still rather numerous. The education and ideological mobilization of the masses still lack thoroughness. The guidance of working methods was still neither concrete nor intensive ; many latent capacities have still not been developed. The division of responsibility for economic management between the different

levels was not studied in close co-ordination by the departments concerned ; its implementation was only half carried through and this constituted a great obstacle for the guidance of the implementation of the plan.

An overall view leads us to the following assessment :

— After the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan, the economy of the North has begun to undergo deep changes. Socialist transformation has won a victory of a decisive character. Through socialist transformation, the mass movement is becoming more and more widespread and deep-going ; socialist ideology is gradually acquiring a predominant position. As regards the relations of production, the socialist and semi-socialist economic sectors now account for the greater part of the national economy. Under the stimulus of the socialist revolution, the various departments of economy and culture, in the first place agriculture and industry, are beginning to develop at a high tempo ; the structure of the industrial and agricultural departments has been progressively re-adjusted. On the basis of the development of production, the people's life has been gradually improved.

— The socialist relations of production have not yet been extended in an even way and are not yet firmly consolidated ; the level of production is still low. The socialist ideological education of the masses still lacks thoroughness. Agricultural production still makes up the greater part of the national economy and remains unstable ; modern industry especially heavy

industry, is still small, and cannot meet the demand for essential means of production. In the various departments of production and transport, many potentialities have not yet been utilized. The contingent of technical cadres and workers is still small ; their technical level still low. Manpower is abundant but not yet rationally used. As labour productivity is still low, the people's income and living standards are also still low.

We must take account of these two sides of the situation in the North in the drafting of the First Five-Year Plan and in the leadership of its fulfilment.

II

FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Basing itself on the general line for the North in the period of transition to socialism and on an appraisal of the situation in the North after the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan, the Central Committee makes the following assessment :

In the First Five-Year Plan period, after socialist transformation has won a victory of a decisive character, we must switch over to socialist construction as the central task, achieve initial socialist industrialization, lay the preliminary material and technical foundations of socialism, and at the same time complete

socialist transformation, transforming the economy of the North into a socialist economy.

As regards the fundamental tasks of the First Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee holds that it is necessary :

a) To strive to develop industry and agriculture, to take the first step in the priority development of heavy industry, at the same time striving to develop agriculture all-sidedly, to develop light industry and the food industry, to develop actively communications and transport, to expand State trade and co-operative trade, to make preparations to forge ahead and transform our country into an industrial agricultural socialist country.

b) To complete the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade, private capitalist industry and commerce ; to consolidate and expand the State economic sector, to strengthen the relations between the systems of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, to extend socialist relations of production to the whole national economy.

c) To raise the cultural level and socialist consciousness of the people ; to promote the training and fostering of cadres for economic construction and skilled workers, to raise the capacity of the cadres, workers and working people in economic management ; to intensify scientific and technical work, the prospecting of our natural resources and basic research with a view to meeting the requirements of socialist economic and cultural development.

d) To improve further the material and cultural life of the working people so that our people have adequate food, clothing, better health, more housing and education; to develop public welfare facilities, to bring into being a new life in countryside and town.

e) Hand in hand and in co-ordination with economic development, it is necessary to consolidate national defence, to strengthen public order and security, to protect our work of building socialism in the North.

These five tasks are closely related to each other ; they embody the requirements of the well-ordered, all-sided, speedy and proportionate development of socialist economy and culture in the North in the First Five-Year Plan period, with a view to consolidating the North, making it an ever steadier base of the people throughout the country in their struggle for national reunification.

Basing ourselves on initial calculations, we propose the following main control figures as a basis for the elaboration of the First Five-Year Plan :

By 1965, the gross value of industrial and handicraft output should increase nearly 1.5 times as compared with 1960 *, an average annual increase of about 20%, including an increase of 25.8% in Group A, and 16% in Group B. This is a high rhythm of development, approximately equalling the average rhythm in the 1958-60 Three-Year Plan period (the latter was estimated at 21%). To ensure attainment of

* The 1960 figures used as the basis for calculating the tempo of development under the Five-Year Plan are for the time being taken in accordance with the estimated degree of fulfilment of the 1960 Plan.

this rhythm, it is necessary to mobilize all the latent capacities of co-operative handicrafts, joint State-private enterprises and co-operative enterprises ; of prime importance is the speeding up of the development of State industry. As regards the centrally-run State industrial enterprises, it is estimated that their output should increase by 199% compared with 1960, an average annual increase of 24.5%. In fixing the index for the rate of development of State industry, we rely on the demand for and possibility of mobilizing the positive factors in capital construction as well as in production. It is necessary to complete the bulk of new projects within the First Five-Year Plan period, actively improving and expanding the existing enterprises, striving to bring them into operation in time ; we must at the same time increase the use of the productive capacity of the existing and new enterprises to about 70-90% of the designed capacity ; we estimate that, not counting the good use of existing enterprises, the enterprises newly built under the First Five-Year Plan will account for more than 60% of the total value of output. As for locally-run State industry, the proposed rate of development is still low ; when elaborating the Plan, we shall, in co-ordination with the localities concerned, study the means of raising it.

As far as agriculture is concerned, the gross value of the 1965 output should increase by about 61% compared with the estimated degree of fulfilment of the 1960 Plan, an average annual increase of about 10%. If a comparison is made with the past few years, we will see that under the First Five-Year Plan,

agricultural production will go on developing at a high rate. (The average annual increase was 10% in the three years of economic restoration 1955-57, and 11.2% between 1955 and 1959). In fixing the indices for the rate of development of agriculture, we have paid attention to implementing the principle of "developing agriculture all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily", we have also taken into account our great efforts in the expansion and consolidation of the co-operatives, and State farms in the intensification of our water conservancy work, of the improvement of farm implements and techniques, etc., in the utmost promotion of the assistance given by industry to agriculture ; besides, we have also taken into account the difficulties arising from the frequent natural calamities and the possibilities of overcoming these difficulties in the coming years.

According to our estimates, by 1965, in the total value of industrial and agricultural output, the proportion represented by industrial and handicraft output should be about 51%, that represented by agricultural output, about 40%.

As regards the proportions of the various sectors of the economy, it is estimated that, by 1965, of the total value of industrial and handicraft output, State industry should account for 68.9%, joint State-private and co-operative enterprises, 5.3%, and co-operative handicrafts, 17.7%. Of the total value of agricultural output, State farms will account for 5.8% — an increase of more than 10 times : agricultural producers' co-operatives, 86.2%, individual farming, about 8%.

As regards capital construction in economy and culture, under the First Five-Year Plan, the State will invest 5,100 million dong, about 48% of the budget expenditures. The total invested capital under the First Five-Year Plan will increase 1.5 times as compared with the capital invested in the past five years. With this total invested capital, the average annual investment in capital construction will be more than twice that of the Three-Year Plan period. Under the Five-Year Plan, we must make great efforts in productive capital construction, concentrate our resources in capital, materials and construction work, build in time the key projects in industry, agriculture and communications, which play an important role in stimulating the speedy growth of the national economy. At the same time, it is necessary to speed up capital construction which serves the training of cadres and skilled workers, and scientific and technical research ; to pay due attention to the construction of cultural and social welfare projects in order to raise the people's living standards ; a step forward must be made in building towns and worker living quarters ; the building of the new countryside must also be conducted to gradually transform the face of the town and countryside of the North.

The problem of increasing labour productivity and reducing production costs is a very important aspect of the First Five-Year Plan. We expect labour efficiency to increase annually by 9% in industry, 6% in capital construction, etc.

In education and the training of cadres, the number of pupils receiving general education will nearly double that for 1960 ; the number of pupils receiving

secondary vocational education will be 85,000, increasing 1.5 times ; the number of students in higher educational institutions will be 40,000, more than doubling. Within five years, there will be nearly 25,000 cadres newly graduated from the universities and colleges, and nearly 100,000 cadres graduates of secondary vocational schools.

On the basis of the development of production and the increase of labour efficiency, the life of the toiling people will be improved a step further. It is expected that by 1965 the average increase in the workers and peasants real income will be about 30% over 1960.

In order to correctly carry out the general line for socialist revolution in the North and the above-mentioned tasks and directions, we consider that, in drafting the First Five-Year Plan, it is necessary to firmly grasp the following main objectives :

1. Take an initial step in laying the material and technical foundations of socialism and strive to complete socialist transformation

After the Three-Year Plan, the socialist and semi-socialist economic sectors have secured a predominant position, but have not been extended to the whole national economy, socialist relations of production have not been firmly consolidated, and in general, the levels of production and technique are still below the mark. This situation demands that, in the First Five-Year Plan period, it is necessary, on the one hand, to take an initial step in laying the material and technical

foundations of socialism, in order to develop the productive forces and strengthen socialist relations of production, to develop State economy, especially State industry, the leading forces of the national economy, and to help the agricultural and handicraft producers' co-operatives in speeding up their improvement of techniques and implements, achieving semi-mechanization and initial mechanization of production processes, consolidating the system of collective ownership ; on the other hand, it is necessary to complete the transfer of the working people into co-operatives, to turn the co-operatives of lower type into co-operatives of advanced type, to consolidate constantly the co-operatives, to pay attention to raising the socialist consciousness of the co-operative members, and to strengthening the economic management of the co-operatives, so as to meet the requirements of the development of the productive forces. It is necessary to closely combine the initial laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism with the completion of socialist transformation in order to expand and strengthen socialist relations of production, raise the level of production and technique and speed up the development of the productive forces. Of these two tasks, the initial laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism is the decisive one in leading the socialist revolution forward, but the completion of socialist transformation is also a very important task. That is why we must switch the focus over to socialist construction, take a step in socialist industrialization and in the initial laying of the material and technical

foundations of socialism, and pay due attention to the successful completion of socialist transformation.

To fulfil these tasks implies the waging both of a class struggle and a struggle against nature, to carry out socialist revolution simultaneously in the economic, political, ideological, cultural and technical fields. In the Three-Year Plan period, the focus of the task of socialist revolution in the North was to speed up socialist transformation ; we attached importance to intensifying the economic, political and ideological struggle for the solution of the problem " who will win ", socialism or capitalism. In the First Five-Year Plan period, as we are switching the focus over to socialist construction, we must attach importance to leading the cadres and the masses to secure general education and to study technical matters, and we must firmly grasp the leadership of technical matters and their management ; but this does not permit us to overlook the economic, political and ideological struggle. After turning capitalist industry and commerce into joint State-private undertakings and fundamentally completing the elementary transformation of agriculture and handicrafts into a co-operative agriculture and handicrafts, we must develop and consolidate the successes achieved ; above all we must carry on a long-term struggle on the political and ideological fronts simultaneously with the development of culture, science, and technique, in order to advance towards the complete victory of socialism. We must do our best to transform nature, to combat natural calamities, to make the most of our natural resources and favourable natural conditions in order to serve life ; to do so, we must march

step by step upon science, transform our equipment, improve our techniques, raise our capacity in utilising machines, and ensure the constant development of the national economy on the basis of ever rising material and technical levels. This struggle can be successfully carried out thanks to the correct political lines of our Party and thanks to the ever steadier social foundations of the socialist regime on which the struggle relies. Therefore, we must hold to our political leadership as the source of everything and fight hard to transform society and the people. We must arouse the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the masses, making socialist ideology the ideology of the entire people, struggling against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, criticizing petty-bourgeois ideology, continuing to wipe out all vestiges of feudal ideology and of other erroneous ideologies ; we must smash all reactionary forces opposing socialism and the people ; we must further strengthen unity and single-mindedness between the people and the State, closely coordinating the forces of the State and the people, those of the State economy and the collective economy, so as to impel forward the development of socialist economy and culture.

2. Develop industry and agriculture side by side, achieve the initial priority development of heavy industry and at the same time strive to develop agriculture all-sidedly and to develop light industry

With the need to switch the focus of the political task over to socialist construction, the First Five-Year Plan opens a new period of decisive significance in the

development of the socialist revolution in the North.. To switch the focus over to socialist construction, and to take the first step in socialist industrialization, we must naturally give priority to the development of heavy industry, and see to it that industry holds the position of key lever in the national economy. To do away with the state of backwardness in the various departments of production and to raise the people's living standards, we must advance towards the building of a system of modern industry, develop electric power metallurgy and engineering, as a prerequisite for the modernization of techniques, the raising of labour productivity and the achievement of socialist extended reproduction. That is the direction of our struggle for the promotion of both industrial development and agricultural development ; the more industry develops, the more it can strengthen its leading role, increase its aid to agriculture, and stimulate the vigorous development of the latter.

Another question is : On what shall we rely to advance in this direction ? Belonging to the world socialist system, we enjoy the all-out assistance of the advanced industries of the fraternal countries, and that is a fundamental advantage. Besides that assistance, our main resource is the economic forces in our country, the bulk of which is at present the agricultural economy. We must start from agriculture, making the best of our tropical climatic conditions ; bringing a stable solution to the food problem as the main thing : at the same time, we must promote the development of other agricultural branches and rely on our ever growing

agriculture to favourably carry out socialist industrialization step by step. Agriculture is the foundation of industry ; its task is to ensure the supply of food to the towns and industrial areas, to supply raw materials to light industry and the food industry, to increase the sources of agricultural products to be exported in exchange for industrial equipment ; to contribute manpower to industrial production and capital construction ; to increase the peasants' income and purchasing power ; to expand the countryside's consumption of industrial goods, including means of production and consumer goods, and to contribute to increasing the accumulation of capital for socialist industrialization ; if we pay due attention to holding the leadership of agriculture firmly in hand, then agriculture will be fully capable of accomplishing these tasks. Industry must be directed towards serving agriculture ; at the same time, every effort must be made to mobilize all potentialities in agriculture to promote agricultural development.

To develop industry and agriculture side by side along the socialist path is to lay the foundations of the national economy. Under the First Five-Year Plan, we shall strive to take a step in the priority development of heavy industry, at the same time developing agriculture all-sidedly and developing light industry. These three departments — heavy industry, agriculture and light industry—are closely related to each other, support each other and spur each other forward in speedy and well-balanced development. The target aimed at is to ensure the supply of foodstuffs and to increase the sources of victuals ; to ensure the supply of electric

power and raw materials for agriculture and industry and the supply of fuel and other materials available in the country which we can and must supply to the various branches of production and construction ; to increase our engineering possibilities to meet precise requirements, to combine our efforts in the most advantageous way with the aid from fraternal countries in equipment, to equip the various branches of the national economy ; to ensure the supply of goods of daily use ; to increase the sources of exported goods including agricultural, forest, sea, and mineral products, and industrial and handicraft goods, in order to expand our foreign trade. To fulfil these targets also means to strive to increase the national income, to accumulate more capital for the building of socialism and for the constant improvement of the toiling people's livelihood.

In the attainment of these targets, it is necessary to ensure a balanced relationship between industry and agriculture, between group A and group B, between production, construction and the supply of materials, the consumption of goods, etc. Alongside the development of industry and agriculture, the expansion of communications must be accelerated to fully satisfy the transport demands. We must speed up the harnessing and exploitation of the Red River system, the combined utilization of electric power, water conservancy and transport possibilities to efficiently serve industry and agriculture.

In short, we must concentrate our efforts on developing industry to a greater extent than in the past, at the same time continuing to attach importance to

agriculture. The central organs must strengthen their leadership of industry and must still attach paramount importance to leading agriculture, giving it firm guidance ; it must, in accordance with the actual conditions of time and place, define the main tasks in its concrete leadership activity. For the towns and industrial areas, the main task is to develop industry ; for the countryside, the main task is to develop agriculture, at the same time giving due regard to the development of local industry and efficiently serving that of national industry.

3. Advance gradually towards a rational distribution of the productive forces

In the economy of the North, the level of production, generally speaking, is still low, the distribution of the productive forces between industry and agriculture, between the various regions, is utterly unbalanced. We must strive hard to eliminate these survivals of colonialism and feudalism. Hand in hand with, and on the basis of the expansion and consolidation of the socialist relations of production, we must accelerate the development of the productive forces and step by step advance towards a rational distribution of the productive forces.

In implementing the line of rational priority development of heavy industry, together with the vigorous development of agriculture and light industry we shall re-adjust the productive forces between industry and agriculture, and closely co-ordinate industry with agriculture, and industry and agriculture with communications and transport. During the execution of this task,

we must pay due attention to advancing gradually towards a rational distribution of the productive forces between the plains and the mountainous regions, developing economic areas, achieving step by step and in a rational way the division of responsibility and co-operation between the economic areas. To solve this problem, we must co-ordinate three things ; to make full use of all possibilities in natural resources, soil, manpower and technique, to speed up the economic and cultural development in the plains and in the mountainous regions in a balanced manner so that these parallel developments may complement each other ; to help the national minorities to catch up with the majority people, to gradually raise the material and cultural standards of the people in the mountainous regions, to strengthen the solidarity between all the nationalities in the country in the struggle for socialism ; to combine economic development with national defence, to promote the consolidation of the rear and the borders, actively to defend the North as the firm base for the struggle for national reunification.

During the First Five-Year Plan, we must speed up economic and cultural development in the plains on which we shall rely to carry out socialist construction all over the North. In regard to towns and existing industrial areas, it is necessary to expand them in a rational manner ; in Hanoi, in particular, we shall build a number of new enterprises, step by step turning our capital into an important industrial centre, but we must guard against the tendency to set up too many enterprises in the capital in a short time, creating difficulties in many respects.

Alongside economic and cultural development in the plains, we must strive to initially transform the economic and cultural face of the mountainous regions, thus laying a firm foundation for further development on a wider scale. We must transfer a part of the forces of the State and the people in the plains to certain mountainous regions ; set up a number of agricultural farms and forestry exploitation centres, build a number of water conservancy projects, a number of heavy and light industrial enterprises, set up a number of vocational schools required for the training of cadres ; develop and consolidate the main railways, motor-roads, and waterways linking the various regions ; build industrial and agricultural production areas, and build a number of towns in the mountainous regions. In co-ordination with the centrally-built projects, the various localities in the mountainous regions must grasp as their central task the energetic development of agriculture and forestry, at the same time actively developing local industry, extending local communications lines leading to the co-operatives, broadening the socialist trade network, and speeding up the development of education, culture and medical work.

In the course of the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and of future plans, numerous industrial, agricultural and communications projects will be built, the economic structure of the North will record basic progress and the industrial and agricultural production areas will undergo daily expansion. Such a situation demands that attention be paid to overall investigation and research, that plans be drawn up for all necessary branches and for defined economic areas ; a general

plan for the entire North concerning key projects must be elaborated, and there must be a reasonable overall disposition of the various production centres, in conformity with the demands of the distribution of the production forces. Inadequate consideration and inadequate measures for the solution of this problem could cause great waste in the utilization of investments and the productive capacity of our equipment, and create numerous difficulties for economic management. Investigation and prospecting of the natural resources and basic research must be promoted to serve the study and drawing-up of the plans. There must be close co-ordination between the departments and the localities concerned in drawing up plans and in the division of responsibilities in designing projects. Bureaucracy, superficiality, departmentalism and regionalism must be vigorously combated.

In order to push forward the development of the productive forces and advance toward their rational distribution, we must correctly observe the guiding principle of co-ordinating big, medium and small projects. In required departments and in localities where conditions exist, we must build a number of big and medium projects using advanced methods of production; the scale of such projects must be in conformity with immediate and future demands, in order to yield the greatest economic results. In co-ordination with the key projects, numerous small production bases must be built, either equipped with semi-mechanized tools, or moving from handicraft to semi-mechanized production, then to fully mechanized production. In certain departments, depending upon

local natural resources and consumption, a system embracing big, medium and small enterprises must be built. With regard to those departments for which raw materials and requirements are scattered, and which demand neither the building of big enterprises nor high technique, the development of scattered small production centres in different localities will be recommended. Near certain big enterprises, a number of small production bases may be built to carry out the initial stages of the processing of products or to utilize sub-standard materials or faulty products of the big enterprise. The first results in the building of local industry clearly show that by developing small production bases, we can succeed in mobilizing the scattered forces of different localities for economic construction, investing small funds for big results, achieving rapid yields from capital investments, taking advantage of local raw materials, and materials providing new employment for the toiling masses, and increasing the variety of goods available and the people's income. This is also a very good way of guiding the masses to handle technique, of mobilizing the peasantry and other toiling people to engage in industrial work, of rapidly developing industry not only in the cities but also in the countryside and in the mountainous regions, and achieving close co-ordination between peasants and workers, between agriculture and industry. In short, the policy of building small enterprises and developing local industry is in conformity with the present economic and technical conditions of our country. In order to ensure good results, it is necessary to study the plans of local

industrial development for each province, city and department, and to establish production centres in an organized manner ; at the same time, management work must be firmly grasped and the bases already built must be constantly consolidated. Due to the small area of each of our regions, we must attach all the more importance to the arrangement of a local industrial network and must strive to avoid unplanned and disorderly development.

4. Enhance the spirit of diligence and thrift in national construction, correctly solve the problem of the relationship between accumulation and consumption.

Our country and our people are still poor and economic and cultural development requires big capital, therefore we must strive to enhance the spirit of diligence and thrift in national construction. Diligence and thrift in the expansion of capital construction, in the increase of production and in the distribution of income, these three things must complement each other and advance harmoniously together.

All departments of construction, production, transport and trade must endeavour to increase labour productivity and reduce production costs, putting into practice the guiding principle of " greater, faster, better and more economical results " within the limits of the activity of each department. It is necessary to educate each cadre, worker, peasant, all and sundry, to value each penny saved and each grain

produced, each minute of labour, to respect public and collective property as his own, to wage radical struggle against bureaucracy, waste and corruption, to endeavour to promote his activity and creativeness for the benefit of the nation and of his own family. We must mobilize the masses and make every one understand that it is necessary to do so, that one must help and stimulate one's neighbours to do so, and we must establish the style of working and living of socialist society. The organs of economic management and administrative and professional organs must strive to enhance their sense of responsibility and discipline in every expenditure, spending little for much achievement and good results. It is necessary to do away with the state of capital and materials lying idle, the state of uncontrolled expenditures in localities which have acquired unneeded capital and materials, thus causing great waste, while in other localities the demands for capital genuinely required by the development of the work are not met adequately. The numbers of office personnel have of late grown considerably, outstripping the norms set by the plan ; this situation must be settled in a timely manner, and this must be considered as an important direction of the struggle against bureaucracy and waste.

By striving to increase production and practise economy, we will achieve the constant increase of the national income. In the allocation of the funds destined for accumulation and consumption, we must endeavour to heighten the spirit of diligence and thrift in national construction. Attention should be paid to increasing the accumulation of capital in order to meet the needs

of the development ; at the same time, on the basis of the development of production we must attend to the gradual raising of the people's living standards. In increasing the accumulation of capital, we aim at promoting the development of economy and culture, creating conditions for the constant improvement of the people's life ; if we succeed in increasing accumulation much more than in the past, this will be due to the gradual increase of the national income ; although accumulation has increased, we can continue to ensure the improvement of the people's life. In order to correctly resolve the problem of the relationship between accumulation and consumption, we must rely upon the development of production to improve living standards, while setting aside an appropriate proportion for accumulation.

All State policies concerning finance, prices, consumption and wages, etc., must fully understand the above-mentioned guiding principle. This principle must also be respected by the co-operatives in the distribution of harvests and of income, in accordance with the concrete conditions of time and place. All must also rationally plan their expenditures according to their personal income, and must make efforts to be thrifty.

5. Strengthen economic co-operation with the countries of the socialist camp.

For a backward agricultural country like ours which is now laying the first material and technical foundations of socialism, the assistance and co-operation of the fraternal countries are an indispensable

condition, and at the same time constitute one of our fundamental advantageous factors.

Relying upon the assistance and co-operation of the fraternal countries, we must work against time to advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily towards socialism, to build our economy into an independent one and to make of it a base for the consolidation of national independence, and at the same time an integral unit of the socialist economic system. In order to satisfy this demand, and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we must overcome the tendency to wait passively for aid from outside which exists among our cadres and people and must closely co-ordinate these three things : promoting the spirit of self reliance ; utilizing in the most rational and beneficial way the assistance of the fraternal countries ; and actively expanding co-operation with the fraternal countries.

In the First Five-Year Plan period, we will continue to ask for overall assistance from the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries in the building of key projects in water conservancy, electric power, iron and steel, metallurgy, lead and zinc metallurgy, machine-building, mining, production of fertilizers, production of certain building materials, the building of a number of establishments in light industry and the food industry, the development of State farms and the widening of railway gauge...

In our relations with the Soviet Union and China, the main thing is our receiving friendly assistance, but at the same time, we must develop to the utmost our co-operation with our friends. As regards other fraternal countries, we must think over our requirements.

and capacities as well as theirs, to ensure satisfaction of the political and economic interests of both sides.

With regard to scientific and technical co-operation, we must strive to learn the advanced experiences of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries, ask for their assistance in the fields of investigation, prospecting, planning, training of scientific research workers and technical cadres, and in the study of a number of technical problems associated with the requirements of the natural conditions of our country.

In foreign trade, it is necessary to guarantee the allocation to the socialist countries of the bulk of our imports and exports, and strive to increase our annual turnover in trade with them; attention must be paid to the supply of such varieties of products needed by the fraternal countries as apatite, chromite, timber, special tropical products, etc., and to increasing the volume of our exports of such products. In the expansion of our trade relations with the Afro-Asian countries, close co-ordination with the fraternal countries is necessary to bring into play the good influence of the whole socialist camp, and to raise still further our international position. At the same time, close co-ordination with the fraternal countries is also indispensable in relations with the capitalist countries in order to ensure successful results in foreign trade and in the political field.

III

TASKS OF DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS OF ECONOMY AND CULTURE IN THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

1. Industrial development

In the Five-Year Plan, we shall have to take a step in laying the material and technical foundations of a modern socialist industry, along the line of giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry, at the same time striving to develop light industry. In combination with the development of modern State industry, we must still attach importance to developing as vigorously as possible co-operative handicrafts, by pushing forward the improvement of implements, equipment and technique.

We must accelerate the production of means of production, mainly by developing electric power one step ahead of other departments, developing the iron and steel industry and the machine-building industry, and at the same time developing coal industry, the building materials industry, and initially establishing a chemical industry, with the aim of bringing into play the potentialities of the country, providing capital construction, industrial and agricultural production, and communications and transport with a number of technical materials and raw materials. Particular attention must be paid to directing industry in the service of agriculture, of the improvement of farm

implements and technique, and of the processing of agricultural products.

It is necessary to increase vigorously the production of consumer goods, satisfying almost all the common needs for clothing, food, drinks, utensils, study, and health protection, and gradually raising the people's living standards.

Industrial development must also aim at pushing forward the processing of agricultural products, expanding the extraction of certain minerals, and the processing on orders of different kinds of valuable handicraft products, so as to further increase the sources of goods for export.

Following is the direction for the development of the different industrial departments :

Electric power : It is necessary to develop hydro-electric power in co-ordination with the development of thermal electric power, with a view to reducing building costs and electric supply costs, re-adjusting the supply of electricity, meeting in time the needs of economic development during the Five-Year Plan period and partly making preparations for future plans. Along with the construction of new plants, it is necessary to improve the equipment and increase the productive capacity of certain existing plants. In the localities, attention must be paid to the use of water and wind power, and of methane gas, and to the building of small power stations to meet local needs.

With a view to making rational use of the capacities of the electricity plants, it is necessary to build a system of electric networks linking big and medium

plants together, and with the consumer localities. On the other hand, the control of consumption of electric power must be strengthened and there must be vigorous economy in the use of electricity. During the years of 1961-1963, all measures must be studied to ease the present strain in the supply of electricity ; at the same time, efforts must be concentrated upon the timely completion of projects under construction to overcome the power shortage at an early date.

Metallurgy : The main task of the metallurgical industry consists in making efforts to supply the bulk of the iron and steel required in capital construction and partly in the machine-building industry. It is necessary to complete the construction of the Thai Nguyen iron and steel combine, with a productive capacity of 200,000 tons ; attention must be paid to the early development of small blast-furnaces for the production of iron in localities where conditions exist, and to the building of a number of small iron and steel combines. To serve the iron and steel industry, we must build and begin exploitation of iron-ore mines, lime kilns, fire-clay quarries, etc. We must also build a number of works producing iron alloys required by steel metallurgy. At the same time, investigation, prospecting and the planning of projects must be promoted to prepare actively for the continuous and further development of the iron and steel industry in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

In regard to non-ferrous metallurgy, we promote the extraction and production of lead and zinc, the extraction of bauxite, and the metallurgy of aluminium, actively increase our capacity for chromite

extraction, and conduct the production of the tin works in a satisfactory manner. Regarding small deposits of copper, we must build bases for small-scale extraction and production.

Machine-building : In the period of the Five-Year Plan, the machine-building department has the tasks of:

- producing a number of precision machine-tools of level II downwards, certain auxiliary equipment designed to accompany complete sets of equipment, electric power equipment from 100Kw capacity downwards, boats with a loading capacity of 1,000 tons downwards, small cargo vessels, barges, tug-boats, rolling stock, a number of types of equipment for prospecting work and for the execution of small scale capital construction.

- producing different kinds of improved farm implements, certain small agricultural machines, different kinds of simple machines used in the processing of agricultural products, in brick-pressing, etc., with a view to serving local agriculture and industry.

- handling big machine repair jobs, and producing certain kinds of accessories and instruments for the various departments of industry, transport and capital construction.

There must be co-ordination between the machine-building works to be built under the Five-Year Plan and the existing ones, arranging them into a machine-building network in different localities, in order to carry out the above-mentioned tasks.

The problem of prime importance is the urgent unification, and strengthening of the management of

the machine-building department, bringing about a rational division of responsibility in production between the State and the joint State-private establishments, between the centrally-run and the regionally-run establishments in order to make full use of existing capacities and of the establishments to be built later.

Coal : Home needs for different kinds of smokeless coal must be satisfied, while the volume for export must be increased. As regards fat coal, prospecting and designing work must be vigorously promoted to solve the needs of coke production.

The main direction for the increase of coal output remains Hong Gai, Cam Pha. Attention must be paid to raising the standard of mechanized extraction in this area and to gradually expanding underground extraction. At the same time, we must gain time and start the operation of the Uong Bi, Mao Khe, Trang Bach and Lang Cam collieries. Besides, in those localities where small mines exist, it is necessary to organize extraction to meet the needs of local industry.

Building materials : It is necessary to unify the management of the building materials department, make efforts to push forward production and extraction in order to meet the demands of capital construction, increase production bases and develop the production of different kinds of machine-made bricks and tiles and fire-bricks ; improve techniques and raise the quality of handicraft bricks and tiles ; push forward the gathering of sand, pebbles and stone ; increase the production of different kinds of cement and lime ; produce pre-fabricated materials to serve the mechanization of the construction department ; produce

different sorts of glass and sanitary utensils, etc., necessary to construction work in cities and to the building of factories ; at the same time make research into and produce different kinds of cheap materials necessary to house-building in the countryside.

Chemicals and Fertilizers : the main tasks confronting this department are : to produce fertilizers and insecticides for agriculture, and at the same time to produce a number of basic chemicals such as soda, sulphuric acid, certain chemical materials such as dye-stuffs, to produce antibiotic medicines and certain pharmaceutical products, to produce synthetic textiles on a small scale and actively to prepare for large scale production of synthetic textiles.

It is necessary to build the azotic fertilizer works at an early date, actively to expand extraction at the apatite mines, to build the mineral oils work, push forward the extraction of apatite for exchange with the fraternal countries, actively to prospect phosphoric minerals necessary to the production of sulphuric acid.

Timber extraction and wood-processing : The main tasks consist in increasing the volume of timber extracted, fully utilizing the timber from all parts of the trees, trunks and branches alike, mechanizing the sawing and milling of timber, studying and organizing the pressing of lumber and the dry-heating of timber in order to economize timber ; due attention must be paid to the production of furniture, satisfying part of the people's demand.

Efforts must be made to satisfy the demand for paper in the development of culture. Along with the

building of modern factories producing writing and printing papers and newsprint, it is necessary to set up small paper-making workshops in different localities to produce less specialized papers.

Weaving, clothing and tanning : The Nam Dinh textile mill must be expanded and improved. The Hanoi textile mill and the cotton-spinning mill must be built and adequately utilized. Handicraft weaving must be improved. Knitwear, jute sack, jute processing, fishing net, tanning, shoe-making, etc. factories must be built.

It is necessary to improve the techniques of cotton selecting and spinning in order to further raise the utilization of cotton yarn and to study the utilization of different kinds of crops such as jute and hemp in the making of cloth. State purchase and tanning of pig-skin must be organized in order to increase leather output.

Food industry : The need for basic foodstuffs such as sugar and fish sauce must be met, and the supply of certain other products must be increased. At the same time, it is necessary to push forward the processing of products for export.

The canning works must be adequately utilized ; medium and small rice-husking mills must be further developed. Along with the plan for the development of State farms, it is necessary to build and rationally to arrange centres for the processing of agricultural products, such as tea and coffee processing plants, and plants for the canning of fruit, meat and milk.

Other departments of light industry : Attention must be paid to the development of home utensils production, to the building of new printing works, film

studios, factories producing sports gear, school equipment, bicycles, and, in co-ordination with the telephone plant, common spare parts of radio sets in order to serve broadcasting work...

Along with the development of modern State industry under central management, it is necessary to develop local State industry in a planned way ; promote the development of handicrafts and fully utilize the productive capacity of State-private industrial bases. Plans are needed for close co-ordination between central and local industry, between State and State-private industry and co-operative handicrafts, so that they may assist and complement each other in their common development.

With regard to local State industry, it is recommended that small semi-mechanized production bases be built, with the aim of meeting local requirements and also in order to assist central industry. As to the direction for development, attention must be paid to those departments and trades in which handicrafts are unfitted for or are not in a position to produce the required quantities of products, such as improved farm implements, improved rudimentary transport vehicles, fertilizers, building materials, rice-husking implements, sugar, flour, fish-sauce, smoked fish, etc. As for production activities which require a definite technical level, such as iron and steel metallurgy, coal extraction, small machine-building factories, etc., the centre will either actively help the localities to build them, or it will itself build them and then hand them over to the localities. In the building of local State industry, attention must be paid to local possibilities of solving the

problem of materials on the basis of guaranteeing the supply of materials to the centre, and not relying upon supply by the centre. Efforts must be made to guarantee the quality of the products and their outlets ; with regard to certain products which need special encouragement, such as iron and steel, etc., it is necessary to have policy for making good the deficit during the first stages when production costs are still high, but the localities and the production bases must strive gradually to reduce production costs.

With regard to handicrafts, it is necessary to guide and help in the intensification of the production of building materials for the people, the processing of foodstuffs in broad local demand, and the initial processing of various kinds of agricultural, forest and sea products, in order to supply industry with raw materials ; the development of trades producing articles in rattan, rush, bamboo, reed, art objects and other valuable articles for export. Necessary assistance must be extended to such important departments as small metal production, production of building materials for supply to the State, weaving, tanning, etc., to improve their equipment and technique, to raise the quality of their products and to cut their production costs.

2. Agricultural development

In the Five-Year Plan period, we must continue to drive forward the transformation and development of agriculture.

Vigorous efforts must be made to complete agricultural co-operation, and, at the same time, to

develop actively the State farms, thus creating a favourable basis for the all-sided, vigorous and steady development of agriculture.

The central task of agricultural production consists in achieving a satisfactory solution to the food problem, while vigorously developing the cultivation of industrial crops, livestock breeding, fishery and forestry. On the one hand, we must satisfy the demands for food and supplies of the people, the requirements in forces of traction and fertilizers in agriculture, and in raw materials for the food, weaving, wood and paper industries. On the other hand, we must increase the sources of agricultural products for export, especially the special tropical products.

Following is the direction for the development of the different branches of agriculture, forestry and fishery :

Foodstuffs : The goal to be attained in the struggle is to ensure that the peasants have enough to eat, to guarantee the supply of foodstuffs to the non-agricultural areas, while keeping strong reserves and setting aside an appropriate amount of foodstuffs for export.

In the production of foodstuffs, rice must always be regarded as the main thing, while great attention must be paid to maize, sweet potatoes and cassava root with a view to the partial complementing of the supplies of the people and providing livestock fodder. It is necessary to guide the co-operatives in intensifying the planting of vegetables and beans which are important reserve food ; cities and industrial areas

must have plans to develop the cultivation of vegetables, beans and other food crops in their surroundings and to avoid as much as possible the transportation of these products from a long way off.

In order to solve the food problem satisfactorily, the area planted to rice and subsidiary crops must be actively expanded, especially in the mountainous regions, by increasing the number of crops, reclaiming virgin land, and strongly promoting intensive cultivation and raising the productivity of the soil over the whole planted area.

Industrial crops and fruit trees : Along with the satisfactory solution of the food problem, we must vigorously develop the planting of industrial crops and fruit trees, with the aim of satisfying the needs in food (different kinds of oleaginous crops, and sugar cane) and clothing (different kinds of textile crops) ; we must also promote the planting of special crops supplying materials for industry and goods for export (attention must be paid to rubber-trees, and coffee and tea cultivation).

It is necessary to develop simultaneously the planting of different kinds of seasonal and perennial crops ; State farms will mainly grow perennial crops, and co-operatives seasonal crops.

In the development of industrial crops, attention must be paid to increasing both the planted area and productivity and quality, to both improving the processing of products and the development of cultivation.

It is necessary to further drive forward research work in order to solve a number of technical problems

relating to the growing of industrial crops. Special attention must be paid to solving the problem of the technique of growing cotton, to the transformation and popularization of the species of long-staple cotton, to the determination of appropriate planting seasons for each region, to the improvement of methods of cultivation, tending and manuring, with a view to increasing productivity and ensuring good harvests. Along with the increase of cotton output, it is necessary to develop other kinds of textile crops and to vigorously drive forward the development of the growing of mulberry-trees and of silkworm-raising, thus striving to increase home raw materials for the weaving branch.

Livestock breeding : The task of livestock breeding is to provide adequate forces of traction and adequate fertilizers to meet the increased needs arising from the expansion of the planted area, the improvement of farming techniques and transport ; at the same time, it must meet the increase in the norms for meat, eggs, and milk supplied to the people, and must provide raw materials for the processing industries.

We must endeavour to develop the breeding of oxen and buffaloes, especially farming varieties, promote pig-raising, pay due attention to the development of horse-breeding in the mountainous regions, and to the development of the breeding of other animals. Bee-keeping must be widely developed.

In order to promote the development of livestock breeding both as to quantity and the weight of animals, it is necessary to solve the key problem which is supplying the livestock with sufficient fodder ; at the same time, we must push forward the selection of

breeds, to widely apply the method of artificial insemination, while attending to both the protection of livestock and the development of breeding.

Concerning buffaloes and oxen, their breeding will be carried on mainly by co-operatives and must be vigorously developed in the midland and highland areas ; at the same time, it must be actively carried on in the plains.

As regards pigs and other kinds of small livestock, it is necessary to encourage their breeding by co-operative members, combined with the co-operatives. (Co-operatives must attend to the breeding of sows).

Fishery : It is necessary to promote simultaneously the development of fish-rearing and fisheries in order to raise the supply norms of fish and fish-sauce, thus increasing the available supplies of azotic foods for the people.

As regards sea-fishing, the direction for production is to push forward coastal fishing, to expand deep sea fishing, to promote all-the-year-round fishing, and to develop fisheries undertakings embracing many trades. Fishing methods must be improved. The different kinds of fishing equipment, boats and nets suitable to each category of fish and to each fishing season and areas, must be improved in order to gather many kinds of fish and other sea products. Powered fishing boats must be gradually introduced. Attention must be paid to the modification of the mouths of streams, to increasing safety measures for fishermen, so that they can expand deep sea fishing and operate all year round.

Concerning State sea-fishing centres, it is necessary to raise their standards of management and technique,

to correctly utilize equipment so as to increase the sources of supply to the canning factory, while, in a co-ordinated way, guiding the mechanization of sea-fishing.

As fish-raising requires small capital, is easy and has sure yields, it has all the conditions for vigorous development. We must fully utilize the dams and reservoirs, lakes, ponds, and water courses ; develop deep-water fish-raising while paying attention to promoting field-fish and sea-fish raising and the raising of other sea creatures. It is necessary to expand the fish-raising area, while due attention must be paid to raising productivity. We must actively exploit the source of naturally bred fish, and cross breeds, and must create good new strains.

Forestry : the development of forestry must closely combine these three things : afforestation and the tending of forests, forest protection, and rational exploitation of the forests. The aim is to ensure the renewal of the forests to keep pace with the speed of exploitation, to promote the role of forests in the struggle against floods and erosion and in the retention of water at its sources.

There must be co-ordination between the State and the co-operatives in afforestation ; a mass movement for tree planting and afforestation must be promoted. We must forge ahead with the planting of trees as wind-breaks and prevention of wind erosion in the coastal areas, complete the tree-planting task designed to stop erosion along the coast and the river dykes ; encourage the population to plant trees in the plains in order to be self-sufficient in firewood and

timber ; push ahead the growing of bamboo trees around villages, so as to guarantee on-the-spot bamboo supplies for house-building, the planting of trees on bare hills and the transformation of the forests to provide future industry with raw materials, and the development of all kinds of valuable subsidiary forest products.

We must rely upon the co-operatives in the mountainous areas to protect the natural wealth of the forests and do away fundamentally with the calamitous practice of reclaiming ricefields in the mountains by fire, and with bushfires in general.

We must actively establish State forest exploitation centres, help and guide the co-operatives in the efficient exploitation of forest products and their processing. Forestry undertakings must be expanded in an all-sided manner, great attention must be paid to the exploitation of subsidiary forest products. We must economize firewood and timber and combat unorganized exploitation and waste of forest wealth. It is necessary to open more lines of conveyance and transport roads aiming at the development of undertakings even in the remotest forest areas, and to mechanize both transport and processing ; concerning the cutting and transport of forest trees, all handicraft means must be fully used while paying attention to the improvement of buffalo haulage.

In the Five-Year Plan, with the assistance of the fraternal countries, mainly of the Soviet Union and China, it is necessary to develop State farms, establish new economic areas in the midland and highland regions, aimed at developing the planting of tropical

industrial crops, fruit trees and livestock breeding, so as to meet home requirements and to expand international co-operation ; depending upon the conditions of each area, the farms must strive to be self-sufficing, totally or partly, in food and vegetables.

State farms must apply advanced technique, achieve mechanization on a wide scale, and rationally organize production, in order to increase constantly the productivity of their cultivation and livestock breeding and of their labour ; they must develop their good influence upon the co-operatives and assist them in seeds, technical experiences and in the training of cadres and professional workers.

With regard to the management of exploitation, the farms must " nourish long-term exploitation from the yields of short-term exploitation ", combine construction with production, cultivation and breeding with good processing, strictly observe the business accounting system, radically combat waste and corruption, strive to cut production costs, to increase income and reduce expenditure, to guarantee profits and to accumulate capital in order to achieve the constant growth of production.

By satisfactorily fulfilling the above-mentioned tasks, the State farms will also make an active contribution to the economic development of the mountainous areas.

The State farms must pay great attention to the work of investigation and research, they must have overall planning, practical step-by-step plans and concrete measures to guarantee construction and production in a stable manner. Political and ideological work

must be given particular attention; all cadres, workers and personnel must be brought to fully understand and satisfactorily carry out their tasks.

In order to guarantee the fulfilment of the tasks of agricultural development within the period of the Five-Year Plan, it is necessary to initially transform the backward basis of production of northern agriculture. Particularly, efforts must be concentrated on the solution of the following problems.

The cultivable area of the North is relatively small, the population is increasing rapidly, land reclamation has not yet been developed, and therefore the average land holding per capita is being daily reduced. The ratio of land utilization in our country is still low, while our rich manpower resources are not yet fully used, and we have fundamentally advantageous climatic conditions. It is therefore necessary, in the Five-Year Plan, to push ahead the increase of crops, to endeavour to reach an average of nearly two crops over the total cultivable area. At the same time, a first step must be taken in the transfer of a part of manpower from places of high population density to places thinly inhabited, and to organize land reclamation in order to increase the cultivable area. In the development of State farms, the State will organize population transfers and land reclamation on a relatively large scale; on the other hand, it must help and encourage the co-operatives to organize transfers and small scale land reclamation in co-ordination with the increase of crops, mainly in nearby areas which are relatively easy to cultivate. Along with the transfer of population, we must see to it that the average number

of labour days of the peasant is increased, their idle time reduced and that peasant women, this abundant source of labour power, are more rationally employed in production.

On the expanded cultivable area, a boost must be given to technical improvement and intensive cultivation in order to increase productivity. To achieve good results in the increase of crops and in land reclamation and to serve technical improvement and intensive cultivation aimed at increasing productivity, we must first of all promote water conservancy work, with a view to fundamentally solving the universal problem of drought, to eliminating the scourge of aluminous and salty soils, to reducing to the minimum the water-logged areas and to ensuring the success of the struggle against flood storms and tidal waves, in conformity with definite requirements. To attain this goal, the construction of a water conservancy network must be promoted, combining small projects built by the people and medium and big projects built either by the State or jointly by the State and the people.

Water conservancy work must be linked with the improvement of the soil, with a view to maintaining a desirable degree of soil moisture and to increasing the fertility of soil intended for cultivation. It is necessary to improve the techniques of cultivation, to mobilize the peasants to plough more and more deeply every year, and actively to develop the movement to prepare fertilizer and to use it. Azotic and phosphoric elements must be added to the soil, lime must be added to aluminous and salty soils. The main source of fertilizers to be developed is animal and green manure,

and other kinds of manure prepared by the peasants. At the same time, the use of chemical fertilizers must be promoted. In order to achieve good results in manuring, it is necessary to study and supervise the methods of making manure and of manuring, adapting them to each category of soil and crop.

With a view to pushing ahead technical improvement, we must attach paramount importance to the problem of improving farm implements and that of agricultural mechanization. State farms must achieve mechanization with modern machines ; co-operatives must strive to increase the numbers of draught animals as much as possible, they must forge ahead with the improvement of farm implements and transport means, widely put into practice the method of ploughing with two buffaloes, or oxen, actively use different sorts of semi-mechanized farm implements, through which mechanization may gradually be attained. In the Five-Year Plan period a number of agricultural machinery stations must be set up at given places with the aim of spreading the experimental use of agricultural machines, and of partly solving our difficulties in the shortage of forces of traction.

In the present conditions of our country, the application of the "chain" system of technique is of great effect to promote agricultural development. It is necessary to solve satisfactorily the above-mentioned problems in order to further expand the cultivable area and to create conditions for the wide and effective application of the "chain" system of technique.

3. Development of posts and communications

In the First Five-Year Plan, we must strive to develop posts and communications to timely meet the requirements of the different departments of the national economy to expand our relations with the fraternal countries, and at the same time to serve the strengthening of national defence.

It is necessary to study the ever-developing relations between different economic areas, and the character and freight volumes of the different lines of transportation, in order to build a network of posts and communications step by step, in the most rational way, combining economic with defence requirements, railways and roads with waterways, the main arteries with auxiliary ones, and gradually transforming our existing posts and communications network.

To meet the above requirements, we must actively consolidate, expand and further establish railways, roads, and waterways, take a first step in adequately strengthening civil air transport and in establishing long-distance sea transport, and increase the variety of mechanized transport means ; at the same time we must pay due attention to the development of many more small roads going deep into the countryside and the mountainous areas, promote the widespread use of improved rudimentary transport vehicles, and in truth " free the shoulders ". The State must develop mechanized methods and concentrate its forces on the building of key communication lines and important projects ; it must at the same time mobilize the forces of the people for the building and repair of local roads.

To meet in time the needs of transportation, we must strive to bring into play all latent capacities, raise the level of utilization of all kinds of transport means, actively fight for the reduction of freight rates. In combination with the raising of the quality of roads, attention must be paid to the improvement of loading and unloading operations and to their mechanization wherever possible. We must mobilize the workers to make good use of and to maintain satisfactorily all transport means, and to strive to economize on fuel consumption; we must enhance the sense of responsibility, and promote the spirit of socialist co-operation between the organs having goods to be transported and the organs in charge of transportation; transport contracts must be correctly executed.

Following is the direction for the development of the different departments of posts and communications:

Railways : Efforts must be concentrated to widen the gauge of the Yen Vien — Muc Nam Quan line and the Dong Anh — Thai Nguyen branch line to 1.435m., and to ensure the good quality of these lines. At the same time, it is necessary to extend the one meter-gauge Hanoi — Thanh Hoa line as far as Vinh. With regard to the Lao Cai — Haiphong line, preparations must be made to widen the gauge in the next Five-Year Plan period. To serve the transportation of apatite, we must consolidate and bring into full play the freight-carrying capacity of the present one meter-gauge railway, and co-ordinate its use with that of waterways.

In accordance with the requirements of the development of Hanoi and the development of communications, it is necessary to build the Yen Vien station for

train assembly and to make preparations for the building of a new bridge across the Red River.

Roads : It is necessary to consolidate and raise the quality of the different road systems in the plains, to expand the road network in the mountainous areas, to consolidate the main arteries, and to extend automobile transport down to the districts. At the same time, we must guide the co-operatives to develop small roads in the countryside and in the mountainous areas and to increase the different kinds of improved rudimentary transport vehicles.

On the basis of the consolidated road system, it is necessary to raise the level of utilization of motor transport and pay attention to the expansion of the use of various forms of towing methods.

Water transport : It is necessary to improve the Haiphong harbour, and expand its equipment so as to double its freight-carrying capacity ; at the same time, investigation and designing work must be actively carried out to prepare the building of a new harbour. Besides, the harbours for specific use, such as these of Hong Gai, Cua Ong and others, must be consolidated.

We must dredge and clear the beds of rivers ; link inland waterways with coastal transport lines and with the highroads in order to push our transport system deep inland ; consolidate and build a number of river wharves of prime necessity, establish systems of buoys and beacons in the harbours and rivers. In co-ordination with the building of hydro-electric stations and water-conservancy projects, we must further develop inland waterway communications with the aim of using

50-ton barges on certain mountain rivers, and 100-200-ton barges throughout the delta region and up to the midlands. It is necessary to increase the number of motor-boats, barges and tug-boats and to develop the forces of mechanized State transport on the inland waterways.

Concerning long-distance sea transport, we must prepare cadres and crews and purchase some medium-sized vessels to serve the needs of foreign trade.

Civil airlines : Civil air transport must be adequately promoted.

Posts : It is necessary to strengthen relations with foreign countries, expand and consolidate the post network from the centre to the provinces, cities and industrial areas, develop the inter-provincial network and the network from the provinces down to the districts, in order to reinforce the guidance of the centre and the provinces. As for relations between district and villages, during the Five-Year Plan period, it is recommended to settle the problem of postal communications only for a number of localities where there exist both the necessity and the required conditions. In the mountainous areas, wireless communications must be developed.

4. Strengthening of socialist trade

Trade will continue to play an important role in serving the development of industrial and agricultural production, the expansion and consolidation of the political and economic alliance between workers and peasants, between town and countryside, and the

improvement of the people's life ; it helps in the expansion and consolidation of the socialist relations of production in the whole national economy, and at the same time serves the expansion and strengthening of trade relations between our country and foreign countries and contributes to promoting the initial execution of socialist industrialization.

With regard to home trade, it is necessary to strengthen the forces of State trade and of marketing-purchasing co-operatives ; at the same time, to complete the socialist transformation of small trade, and to arrange and utilize the joint State-private trade in a good manner. It is necessary to all-sidedly re-adjust and arrange the network of socialist trade, to improve trade management, to reduce intermediate levels and circulation expenses, thereby satisfactorily serving production and consumption. Between the different trade sectors, it is necessary to effect a rational re-adjustment of the balance between them to closely co-ordinate their activities under the leadership of the State trade organs, in order to promote the circulation of goods. Especially, State trade organs must be combined with the marketing-purchasing co-operatives to make a united bloc ; State trade organs must delegate clear tasks to the co-operatives, help them to strengthen their forces, so that the co-operatives may become efficient auxiliaries of State trade, co-ordinate their efforts with those of the State in the expansion and consolidation of the socialist market and fulfil their task of purchase and supply of goods in a satisfactory manner.

Relying upon the gradually - consolidated united socialist market, it is necessary to carry out State

purchase and supply in a planned way. In order to keep firm the balance between supply and demand concerning agricultural goods, the State must take in hand the total amount of foodstuffs on the market as well as the bulk of other marketed agricultural products and closely administer their purchasing and marketing. Therefore, the obligation to sell paddy and other agricultural products to the State must be made clear to the peasants, and systems of purchase contracts between State purchasing organs and the agricultural producers' co-operatives must be put into effect. In regard to the methods of achieving the planned State purchase of different kinds of agricultural products, it is necessary that it be based upon the demand for each category of agricultural products, if appropriate decisions are to be reached. In regard to industrial products, it is necessary to apply a contractual system in the sale of raw materials and in the purchase of products, ensuring the total State purchase and the total consumption of industrial goods produced by the State and by joint State-private enterprises as well as the State purchase of the bulk of handicraft products of given quality. In the application of the system of State purchasing contracts regarding both agricultural and industrial products, it is necessary to thoroughly grasp the spirit of full encouragement to the improvement of techniques, development of production, and on this basis to firmly ensure that the requirements of the State in materials are met.

In the field of consumption, we must formulate necessary policies with a view to guaranteeing the satisfaction of the people's increasing demand and at

the same time to guiding the people to practise economy in consumption. With regard to essential goods, those for which demand is great but supply capacity limited, it is necessary to organize supply in a planned way so as to maintain a balance between supply and demand, and to avoid irrational states of gluts and shortages.

In the conditions of the completion of socialist transformation and the consolidation of the unified socialist market, it is necessary and possible to maintain, within a given limit, free exchange between productive units and consumers; State trade must firmly hold the leadership of such exchanges.

In the control of prices, it is necessary to grasp Party and State policies and the measures to put them into effect; we must continue the firm stabilization of prices, at the same time re-adjusting such prices as are still irrational, and struggling in every way for the reduction of the prices of certain goods, on the principle of meeting the interests both of the development of production and the consumer, while ensuring the appropriate accumulation of capital by the State.

With regard to foreign trade, we must grasp the principal link which is to promote exports, aiming mainly at expanding the volume of goods exchanged with the fraternal countries. The work of industrial, agricultural, home trade, etc., departments, and the various localities, must be closely co-ordinated with the foreign trade department to satisfactorily serve the expansion of exports. It is necessary to achieve a correct solution of the problem of the relationship between home and foreign consumption, to practise

appropriate economy in the consumption of such goods as must and can be economized, for instance, ground-nuts, coffee, tea and certain kinds of fruits. With regard to certain products such as cement, coal, etc., their production must be intensified to guarantee the satisfaction of home demands, and at the same time to strive to increase the export volume.

In regard to imports, in the spirit of the utmost economy in handling our foreign currency reserves, the foreign trade department must closely co-ordinate its activities with those of other departments concerned to guarantee the timely supply of materials of required standard and quality for construction and production.

5. Increase of productivity and reduction of production costs ; carrying out of good financial and monetary management

In the spirit of diligence and thrift for the sake of building the Fatherland, we must, during the First Five-Year Plan period, strive to increase productivity, cut production costs and do good work in the management of financial and monetary affairs.

To increase productivity and cut production costs are two aspects of the one basic problem in the movement for production and economy. They constitute the main direction for the increase of accumulation and for the creation of a basis of new advance towards reduction of the prices of a number of commodities and the improvement of the people's life. The departments of industry, agriculture, capital construction, transport, trade, and, first of all, the departments of State undertakings, must consider this their permanent task,

mobilize all cadres, workers, and employees to strive to bring into play all their latent capacities to ceaselessly struggle for the increase of labour productivity and the reduction of production costs. In the course of the implementation of the plan we must severely criticize the wrong tendency to care only for output, without paying attention either to productivity indices, production costs or quality of products. At the same time, we must enhance the sense of labour protection among the cadres and the workers, control constantly the implementation of regulations regarding labour protection, and make efforts to prevent labour accidents.

To increase labour productivity and reduce production costs, we must actively struggle in the following fields :

— To promote labour enthusiasm and to enhance labour discipline among the workers ; along with the raising of technical levels, to encourage the improvement of implements and technique and the application of advanced techniques ;

— To study the correct allocation of labour power, and to abide strictly by the discipline regarding the allocation of labour power, to improve labour organization to make the best use of labour power and to ensure the correct observance of labour regulations ;

— To make good use of the productive capacities of equipment, to strive to develop these capacities to the utmost, at the same time protecting and preserving it ;

— To guarantee the regular supply of raw materials, fuels and materials ; to use the maximum of

home-made substitutes in place of expensive imported goods ; at the same time, to practise strict economy in the use of raw materials, fuels and materials, to reduce rates of wear and tear, to take care of goods, avoiding deterioration and loss ; rapidly to increase the rhythm of the circulation of floating capital.

The increase of labour productivity and the reduction of production costs are results of the struggle waged by the collective of workers in the whole production process, by both the leadership and the masses in the whole work of enterprise management, and by all departments concerned in economic activities ; therefore, it is necessary to heighten the sense of responsibility of each part towards the production collective, and to promote the spirit of socialist co-operation in labour. As far as the leadership is concerned, it must make accurate plans, basing itself upon advanced norms of labour, of the utilization of machines and of the consumption of raw materials, fuels and materials, it must firmly hold leadership of implementation, must cover all fields, concentrate forces on strengthening the weak links and the main links in order to lead the whole process forward, it must raise its level of enterprise management and keep pace with the requirements of the development of the productive forces, and it must vigorously promote the activity and creativeness of the workers.

Party Committees at all levels, organs in charge of economy, and every undertaking, must fully realize the great significance of the problem of increasing productivity and reducing production costs ; they must strive to strengthen their management in these fields,

closely co-ordinating the management of production, technique and finance. It is necessary to guide the enterprises and construction sites in applying the system of business-accounting, and, on this basis, to study thoroughly the problem of increasing productivity and reducing production costs, and to lay down the correct direction of the struggle for the mobilization of the masses to fulfil these tasks.

In finance, the task is : on the basis of the development of production and of the circulation of goods, to exert every effort to increase the sources of income, to strengthen management, practise economy in expenditure and promote the role of capital in satisfying the ever-developing needs of economic and cultural construction. Efforts must also be made to increase revenue in order to have conditions for increasing expenditure, and to ensure the balance between income and expenditure in a positive way.

Concerning revenue, the sources of revenue of the State economy can be increased rapidly, and represent an ever greater percentage of the budget ; those of professional organs also go on increasing everyday ; those from taxes, for a long period to come, will continue to hold a fairly important position. In order to guarantee the development in this direction, the management of the sources of revenue by enterprises and professional organs must be strengthened ; and, at the same time, the people must be mobilized to fully accomplish their duty of making their contribution to national construction. State enterprises must struggle incessantly to increase labour productivity, cut production costs, and improve the quality of products,

with a view to increasing the accumulation of capital in the budget. At the same time, financial management must come under a definite system with ever stricter discipline ; efforts must be made to apply the system of business-accounting and to unceasingly raise its level. For its part, the State must make an early study of policies for raising capital from the State economy and the co-operative economy, for agricultural taxes appropriate to the new relations of production. It must carry out necessary reforms in the system of collecting revenues in order to adequately increase accumulation in the State budget, rapidly concentrate capital and stimulate the various departments and units to strive to improve their undertakings, and to strengthen the management of their production and finance. At the same time, there must be a policy for the mobilization of cadres and the people to contribute their savings and their labour to the building of the socialist economy and culture.

Since the sources of revenue inside the country do not yet meet the requirements of the development of the national economy, and since the value of our exports and imports is not yet balanced, in the First Five-Year Plan period we have still to borrow a part of our capital from fraternal countries, mainly to import whole sets of equipment for factories.

In regard to expenditure, capital must be allocated to all departments, but with priority for the main ones ; attention must be paid to a more centralized use of capital.

About half the budget must be invested in economic and cultural capital construction ; a balance must

be ensured between the amount of materials available and our capacity to carry out the construction works. The amount of floating capital must be so estimated as to suit the requirements of increasing output ; at the same time, strict economy must be made in the handling of capital, and the circulation of capital must be speeded up. Since economic and cultural expenditures are always increasing and occupy a very great part of the budget, capital must be put under strengthened management and used in the most rational and economical way. Expenditure for administration and national defence must be appropriately ensured, but their ratio in the budget must be further reduced and closely controlled.

The direction of monetary work in the Five-Year Plan period is to further consolidate the purchasing power of our currency ; on the basis of the promotion of production and the circulation of goods, to take a further step in planning the circulation of money and in adjusting it between the various economic sectors. Along with the promotion of the granting of loans, the State must encourage the people to deposit their savings to contribute to the building of socialism. Besides the mobilization of unused capital among the people, the Bank must strengthen the management of the capital held by offices, State enterprises and co-operatives in order to promote the granting of loans for the encouragement of production and acceleration of the circulation of money.

6 — Training and fostering of specialized cadres and skilled workers, promotion of scientific and technical research and popularization

To serve the First Five-Year Plan and to prepare for future plans, efforts must be exerted to train and foster specialized cadres and skilled workers on a large scale, and to promote scientific and technical work. These are fundamental problems aimed at speeding up economic development, and also fundamental problems of the socialist revolution in culture and technique.

There must be a long-term plan for the training and fostering of cadres, the main direction of which is to train a great number of technical and scientific cadres for departments of production of great importance in relation to the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, such as industry, agriculture, capital construction, water conservancy, soil improvement, communications and transport, and those departments which serve the expansion of the training of cadres, such as pedagogy and the fundamental sciences. At the same time, attention must be paid to the training of a great number of cadres for economic and administrative management and for the different departments of social science. All the three aspects, political, cultural, and technical-professional, with the political aspect as the basic one, must be co-ordinated, in order to train a body of intellectuals faithful to socialism and having constantly higher technical and professional levels. For the time being, it is necessary to train cadres quickly and in great numbers timely to meet the cadres requirements of

various departments ; at the same time due consideration must be given to the quality of training ; it is necessary to train a great number of intermediate cadres, at the same time paying attention to the training of high level cadres. Importance must be attached to the fostering and training of cadres from among the national minorities, with the main aim of meeting the requirements of economic and cultural development in the mountainous area ; to the fostering and training of cadres from among the women, with emphasis on the activities fitting the capabilities of women ; to the active fostering and training of cadres from among southern people, thus combining the satisfaction of immediate with that of future demand. Along with the training of new cadres, attention must be given to the raising of the political, technical and professional levels of existing cadres.

In order to follow the direction referred to above, different forms of training must be applied : beside day-time regular schools we must widely use the forms of study on the job, night courses, correspondence schools and courses organized in the production units, etc. For higher education, according to the conditions and requirements of each department, we must shorten the period of study and draw up plans for the continued fostering of cadres after graduation, to gradually raise their technical and professional level. In co-ordination with training in the country, we must send many more students, research students and practitioners to the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries, mainly with a view to training teachers for higher educational institutions, scientific and technical

research workers, and high level workers in fundamental theory ; at the same time, students must also be sent abroad to study in a number of departments the teaching of which is still weak or non-existent in our country.

Along with the training of cadres, due consideration must be given to the speeding up of the training of skilled workers, particularly engineering and metallurgical workers, with a view to expanding the ranks of workers and raising their political, cultural and technical level. We must take the training in production in enterprises, on the construction sites, farms and in the co-operatives as the main form of training ; at the same time we will pay due attention to launching courses and schools near production centres to train a number of workers, giving them a definite level of both theoretical and technical understanding. For certain departments and professions for which we have as yet no training facilities, we must send workers to fraternal countries for training.

Scientific and technical research and popularization work must be closely related and must serve the actual needs of economic and cultural development under the Five Year Plan ; at the same time, importance must be attached to the direction of long-term development aimed at laying the material and technical foundations of socialism in the North.

Agricultural science must engage in a profound study of the soil and its improvement ; it must study the production and use of various kinds of fertilizers ; study the selection and creation of good seeds and strains for plants and animals ; study measures to

improve production techniques and farm implements, to rationally use and to strengthen the hauling power of animals, to achieve partial and full mechanization in production, and to combat crop insects and diseases, and animal epidemics ; it must develop meteorological work to serve agricultural production and fisheries in a practical manner.

Technological science must immediately begin the systematic study of tropicalization techniques and the study of a number of technical questions posed by the natural conditions of our country (e. g., models of tractors, electric power, grid, mining methods, etc.) ; it must attach special importance to the study of the all-sided utilization of local raw materials, their use instead of imported materials (processing of textile crops, production of artificial cotton and silk for weaving, use of smokeless coal in metallurgy, etc.), and their use in capital construction ; it must further raise the level of technical designing in the industrial, water conservancy and communications departments ; it must step by step establish a system of technical norms, standards and processes.

Geological science must pay attention to both geological surveying and prospecting work on the one hand and geohydrology and geological construction on the other. Stress must be laid on the prospecting of minerals necessary for industrial development. The analysis of the geological structure of north Viet Nam, and the drawing up of the geological map of mine areas and a general geological map of north Viet Nam must be brought to completion.

Activity in such fundamental sciences as mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc., must be promoted. Our country being very rich in minerals and tropical vegetation, the promotion and development of chemistry has an important bearing upon the prospects of our industry and agriculture.

Medical science must concern itself with the study of the incidence of diseases among the population and the causes of fatal diseases ; with the study of a number of tropical diseases and current occupational diseases ; with the inheriting and promotion of the precious experiences acquired by Eastern medical science with the sources of medicinal materials in our vegetation ; with the kinds of food and food standards suitable to a tropical climate and to our people's living conditions.

We must co-ordinate the different departments and systematically carry out basic research with a view to serving the drawing up of economic plans.

Philosophical and social sciences must concentrate their efforts on the study of the general laws and the characteristics of the development of north Viet Nam's economic basis and superstructure in the period of transition to socialism, and must proceed with the task of assembling our people's legacy in the field of philosophy and social sciences. We must analyze, criticize and defeat non-proletarian conceptions and ideologies in north Viet Nam, and rout the reactionary theories and viewpoints spread by the U. S. imperialists and their agents in south Viet Nam. Along with the promotion of research work, we must endeavour to popularize, in a systematic way and with focal points, the theory of

Marxism-Leninism and the basic knowledge of each branch of social sciences in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and the communist conception of life among the cadres and the toiling people. In order to fulfil this task, we must attach importance to publishing text-books and books of popularization of various kinds.

Our Party must strengthen its leadership of scientific work and direct it in development along the Party's line and in service of the requirements of the revolution and the masses. We must strengthen the organs responsible for scientific work, consolidate the central research bases and local experimental bases ; we must train scientific workers and foster them ideologically and professionally, increase our resources in scientific equipment and strive to provide scientific workers with favourable conditions for their research work. To ensure good results from scientific work, we must on the one hand intensify co-operation and exchanges with the fraternal countries in the field of research work, and on the other, co-ordinate the activities of scientific workers and factory workers and peasants, co-ordinate theoretical scientific research and the experience of the masses in production, and widely develop the movement for the study and employment of technique, and for making innovations and inventions.

7. Development of education, culture, public health, physical education and sports

In the First Five-Year Plan period, along with economic construction, the work in the fields of education,

culture, public health, physical education and sports must also be strongly promoted to serve the development of production and the raising of the people's living standards in a practical manner.

In regard to education, for the moment, complementary education of grown-ups must be considered as a task of prime importance aimed at laying the foundations for the development of scientific and technical popularization, pushing forward the political and ideological education of the basic masses and providing a solid base for the large-scale training of cadres. The main recipients of complementary education must be the leading cadres at all levels, young cadres and employees ; outstanding young workers and peasants must be prepared educationally to be sent to study in universities or abroad. To workers, peasants and other toiling people, universal first-level general education must be given. The main form of expanding complementary education is the starting of spare-time courses ; at the same time, more regular schools and courses must also be opened for the rapid complementary education of people who need it.

Along with the complementary education of grown-ups, we must strive to develop strongly regular general education aimed at training young generations of people who are virtuous, educated, physically strong and ready to serve the cause of socialist construction. Educational work must serve the revolutionary tasks and lines of the Party, it must firmly grasp the following guiding principles : to combine study with productive labour ; to combine theory with practice ; to combine study with action ; to combine education in

school with that in society ; to combine the forces of the State with those of the people.

We must develop and enhance the quality of infant schools and kindergarten, with the aim of drawing in all school-age children. In the plains, we must struggle for the universal application of first-level education in 1963-64, create conditions for the universal application of second-level education in the Second Five-Year Plan period, and actively open many more third-level schools to provide future students for universities and colleges and to meet other requirements. In the mountainous areas, we must complete the eradication of illiteracy, achieve the universal application of first-level education in a number of localities and strongly develop second and third-level education. Along with general educational schools, we must open schools in which both general and vocational educations are given ; in such schools, stress must be laid on agriculture to be taught to adolescents.

To ensure the development of education, we must expand teachers' training schools at the primary, secondary and higher levels, and enhance the quality of the training of teachers, while paying attention to fostering existing teachers in all respects ; we must also actively build new schools, strengthen experimental equipment, and set up libraries in complementary and general educational schools.

Concerning culture, we must continue to struggle against backward vestiges of the old culture, pushing ahead in a planned way the building of the new culture so as to make cultural life in north Viet Nam increasingly healthy and rich in content.

Publication work must be considered as the most important work in culture. Attention must be paid to the publication of text-books, classical works and popular political, scientific and technical books. The quality of newspapers, particularly Party papers, and periodicals guiding the cadres in technical and professional matters, must be raised and their distribution must be expanded.

With regard to library work, existing libraries must be expanded, new ones must be built in workers' quarters and in townships ; the movement for the reading of books and papers must be developed among the masses.

With regard to films, leadership must be strengthened to raise the ideological and artistic levels of home-produced films ; the number of newsreels, documentary and scientific films must be increased, the production of films for children must be given attention. The first drive of the building of the new film studio must be completed and the production of feature films pushed ahead ; the number of mobile cinema teams operating in the countryside, mountainous regions, and on the construction sites and farms, must be increased.

Museum and conservation work must collect and preserve the relics of our history and of the Resistance, and the relics of ancient times discovered in the course of construction work ; it must also expand the existing museums and build a number of small museums in certain localities where the need for them exists.

With regard to art, we must complete in the main the collection of old national art works, pay attention

to the re-arrangement, elevation and use of items having sound content and artistic value, raise the artistic level of State-sponsored artistic ensembles, build a number of theatres in various cities and townships.

With regard to mass culture and art, it is necessary to make wide use of exhibitions, magic lanterns, poetry and songs, etc., to improve and promote the activities of the cultural houses and clubs.

With regard to radio-broadcasting, we must strengthen equipment to ensure our superiority in transmission power, increase the time devoted to broadcasts in the languages of national minorities, intensify broadcasting to foreign listeners, develop the re-diffusion network and popularize the use of low-priced radio sets.

In order to promote cultural and artistic activities, particular attention must be paid to the training of cadres for each department of culture and art... Courses to train cadres for library, radio broadcasting, and journalistic work, etc., must be opened ; research and study work on literature and art must be strengthened.

The task of the public health service is to actively protect and strengthen the health of the working people with a view to serving life, production and national defence. Disease prevention must be considered as the main task, at the same time importance must be attached to the treatment of diseases. Eastern and Western medicines must be combined in prophylactic hygiene as well as clinical treatment, in the production of medicine, as in the training of cadres and in scientific research work.

We must push forward the work of preventive hygiene, launch the movement for the " four kills " (to kill flies, mosquitoes, rats and such insects as various kinds of lice and bed-bugs) and the " three cleanlies " (to eat cleanly, to drink cleanly and to live cleanly) ; rely on the basis of disease prevention to effectively fight against epidemics and to cure occasional diseases. With regard to epidemics prevention, we shall prevent the outbreak of any epidemic of smallpox, cholera, or plague ; we must do away with typhoid fever, infantile paralysis, tetanus in new-born babies, diphtheria ; make preparations to wipe out pockets of dysentery and rabies ; and check measles, whooping cough, meningitis, influenza, etc. We must take measures to wipe out malaria, expand the treatment of trachoma, proceed with the curing of syphilis especially among pregnant women, and with the curing of goitre, actively fight to eliminate intestinal parasites, pay special attention to the prevention and reduction of occupational diseases ; particularly in regard to tuberculosis and leprosy, we must give inoculations of B. C. G. vaccine to children as a preventive measure, and use effective methods suited to the living conditions of our people to cure tuberculosis among grown-ups ; leprosy persons must be cured either in hospitals if their disease is of a catching form, or at home if it is not.

Particular care must be given to mothers and children, vigorous efforts must be made to reduce the rates of infant mortality and deaths in childbirth.

We must increase the number of specialized hospitals at the centre, raise the professional quality and

level of provincial hospitals and district infirmaries, set up emergency surgical centres down to district level and consolidate people's founded infirmaries in the communes.

The study, production and use of locally made medicines must be pushed ahead, anti-biotics must be produced, and the fabrication of medical instruments must be expanded.

The training and fostering of cadres must be considered as the central task of the public health service. Attention must be paid to the fostering and promotion of good cadres, to the training of new ones, to the building of a strong body of medical workers with socialist ideology and standpoint, high professional level, and wholeheartedly devoted to the service of the people. At the same time, we must foster Eastern medicine physicians both ideologically and professionally, help them to organize themselves into co-operative units and to carry on their work under the guidance of medical organs. We must build hospitals into specialized research institutes or into clinics and build a number of hospitals in which the treatment by Eastern medicine is combined with that by Western medicine, serving as hospitals to cure diseases and as institutions organizing research work and training and fostering cadres.

The building of socialism and the consolidation of national defence require a wide and strong development of the physical educational and sports movement, which contributes to strengthening the people's physical constitution, enhancing their energy and health. This movement also contributes to the consolidation

of our friendly relations with foreign countries. We must strengthen Party leadership, develop the physical educational and sports movement, in co-ordination with the movement for prophylactic hygiene and disease prevention, turn it into a wide mass movement of a regular and habitual character among the students, pupils, workers, employees, armymen, policemen and militiamen. Along with the expansion of the movement, we must raise the level of the various kinds of sports. Attention must be paid to the training of physical education and sports cadres and to the establishment of sports associations of the masses. The number of stadiums, sports grounds and swimming pools in enterprises, on construction sites and farms, in towns, etc., must be increased ; in the cities and the capital, necessary stadiums, sports grounds, and swimming pools conforming to regulation standards must be built, in order to strengthen the nuclei for the further development of the physical educational and sports movement in the localities.

8. Further improvement of the people's material and cultural life

The life of the people in the North has been manifestly improved as compared with the past, but their living standards are still low, their health and working capacity have not been properly developed. Therefore, the improvement of the people's living conditions is a political task arising from the interests and the legitimate demands of the masses and reflecting the fine nature of our political system. At the same time, it is an economic task aimed at fostering and

increasing the people's working capacity, required for the promotion of production. The ever higher living standards of the people in the North testify to the superiority of the socialist system in the North over the U. S.-Dien regime in the South, and stimulate the people in south Viet Nam to struggle more resolutely for national unification, bringing peace, freedom and an abundant life to all.

We must give due attention to the improvement of the people's present life, at the same time ensuring the accumulation of capital for the development of socialist construction, and creating conditions for the continuous expansion of production, so as to ensure that living standards will be continuously improved. Consequently, the State, and the co-operatives as well, on the basis of developed production and increased labour productivity, must improve the living conditions of the workers, employees and co-operative members, and imbue them thoroughly with the spirit of diligence and thrift in national construction.

The target we have to struggle for in the Five-Year Plan period with regard to improvement of living conditions is : to further provide employment to people of work-age and having the strength to labour ; to increase real income ; to ensure that the working people have adequate food and clothing, better health, more housing and adequate conditions for study. Political education must be combined with material incentives to heighten the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm and working capacity ; the system of distribution according to work done must be correctly applied, and at the same time

importance must be attached to increasing social welfare amenities and to maintaining an appropriate relationship between the living conditions of workers, peasants, employees, cadres and army men.

With regard to the peasants we must endeavour to increase their real income and make the income of the bulk of co-operative members reach and surpass the present income of upper-middle peasants. While raising the level of the consumption of agricultural products, we attend to raising their output so as to have a surplus for sale on the market and increase the cash income of the peasants, and, on this basis, expand the consumption of industrial products, mainly in clothing, study and household necessities. At the same time, we must draw up a plan to guide the co-operatives and the peasants in building solid and inexpensive houses, in conformity with the rules of hygiene. Collective welfare funds must be set up in co-operatives and used effectively, in co-ordination with the assistance of the State, to promote collective welfare work, to develop crèches, to open schools, cultural houses and reading-rooms, to raise the quality of infirmaries, to repair roads and bridges... thus gradually building a new countryside.

Through the assistance given to the peasants in developing production, mainly in the form of agricultural capital construction, of the increase of credit funds, of the correct application of prices policies and the State purchase of farm products, of the supply of industrial products, including means of production and consumer goods, and through the help given to them in developing culture and education in the countryside,

the State must pay attention to enhancing the results of such measures in order to make an active contribution to the improvement of the peasants' life. With regard to social insurance, appropriate regulations must be laid down. The co-operatives must be helped in implementing these regulations.

With regard to handicraftsmen and small traders, on the basis of co-operation we must stabilize their work and ensure them a regular and adequately increased income.

With regard to overseas Vietnamese returned to the home country, we must distribute them among the various departments of production and help them to settle down.

With regard to workers, employees, cadres and army-men, their wages must continue to be increased, the wages system must be improved with a view to unifying the system of paying wages rationally, according to work done. At the same time importance must be attached to developing material and cultural welfare work.

With regard to cadres and employees, on the basis of the raising of their socialist consciousness, combined with the strengthening of working systems, and the fundamental stabilization of organizations, we must strictly apply the system of wages according to functions, with the aim of stimulating cadres and employees to go deeply into their professions and to enhance the work of economic and administrative management.

With regard to workers, we must correctly apply the system of payment of wages according to work time, and the system of bonuses, in co-ordination with

the system of payment of wages according to goods produced, in a well-ordered way, in places where this is necessary, and calculated on the basis of reasonable norms of labour and technique. In order to promote the influence of wages systems on the workers and to ensure the raising of labour productivity, the reduction of production costs and the raising of the quality of goods produced, we must strengthen the political and ideological education of the workers and raise their spirit of being the masters of the enterprises.

With regard to apprentices, a wages system must be established according to the following principle : an appropriate difference from the starting wages of an adult worker in the same trade, distinction to be made between the various departments and professions, so as to ensure both the apprentices' livelihood and study, and at the same time to meet the requirements of the expansion of the training of workers.

Beside increasing the wages of workers, employees and army-men, public welfare amenities must be developed, social funds must be increased in order to settle adequately the questions of allowances for retirement, death, and large families. A law on social insurance for workers and employees must be promulgated, labour protection measures must be increased. In regard to the housing problem, more houses must be built, and the shortage of housing must be initially reduced ; a number of new rest-houses, sanatoria for the old, orphanages, etc., must be built.

IV

TO STRENGTHEN THE PLANNING OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE GUIDANCE OF THE EXECUTION OF THE PLAN.

Comrades,

The Political Report and the Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution presented by the Central Committee, have creatively combined the principles of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Vietnamese revolution, and have formulated the correct political and organizational lines of our Party for the new period. These lines, once approved by the Congress, will light the way for all the revolutionary activities of our Party and people, aimed at taking the North to socialism, completing the national people's democratic revolution in the South and re-unifying our country.

More than thirty years of revolutionary movement in our country have shown that our Party is the leader and organizer of all victories of the nation. In the future, too, our Party will be the sole leader taking our people's revolutionary cause forward to new developments and to ever bigger victories. Our Party can shoulder this task because it is a Marxist-Leninist Party with a correct revolutionary line faithful to proletarian internationalism, unified in thought and action, because it constantly strives to raise its capacity for leadership and guidance, and to unite the working people into a solid bloc. We led the August Revolution

to success, we led the Resistance war and the land reform to victory ; certainly we will lead the people throughout the country to the glorious completion of the tasks of the new revolutionary stage.

The socialist revolution carried out at present in the North is a struggle embracing many aspects : political, ideological, economic, cultural and technical. Our Party has to lead this struggle in an all-sided manner, to skilfully use the people's democratic dictatorship to wage this struggle ensuring that the North advances rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism, and becomes a base for the struggle for national reunification. Having this line, we must thoroughly grasp it in all activities and attach paramount importance to raising the capacity for guidance of all levels and all departments. Here, I would like to lay emphasis upon some questions concerning the strengthening of the planning of the national economy, which is an urgent need for the good drafting of the plan and for the guidance of the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan.

In 1956 and 1957, we drew up two annual plans ; then we drew up a Three-Year Plan for the development and transformation of economy and for the development of culture. Economic planning is a new problem for us. Thanks to the assistance of the Soviet and Chinese experts' missions, we have gradually gained some experience and made some initial ideological and professional progress in statistical and planning work. We still have, however, many weaknesses and shortcomings which we must overcome.

We all know that socialist economy is by nature a planned economy; and socialist economic laws, including the law of planned economic development under the socialist system, arise from the system of ownership of the means of production by the whole people. We also know that socialist economic laws reflect the manifest superiority of socialism, but that they cannot exert their action by themselves and that we have to put them into action. Therefore, the leadership of the planned development of the national economy is the most fundamental question in the task of managing socialist economy. To draw up plans for the development of the national economy is to consciously reflect the requirements and possibilities of the objective development of socialist economy and culture; it is to convert the Party's policies and lines into concrete actions; at the same time, it is to contribute one's views to the elaboration of Party policies and lines, to apply the laws of the objective development of socialist economy in accordance with the actual conditions of place and time, and to organize and mobilize the momentous power of the masses in various fields for economic and cultural construction along socialist lines. This is a lively task with a highly revolutionary content, a scientific and precise basis and broad mass character. Our Planning Commissions at all levels still work in a heavily bureaucratic manner; political leadership in the process of working out plans is still weak, many cadres still busy themselves with pure calculations; these shortcomings must be overcome. The further socialist transformation and socialist construction progress, the more they create favourable conditions for planning work, and the more they demand of

the leadership the enhancement of planning work. Party committees at all levels, and leading State organs have to strengthen their guidance of and directly take part in the drawing up of plans ; statistical and planning organs must be consolidated, their cadres must be educated in lines and policies, and helped to go deeply into practical production and among the masses to bring good results in their study and research work, and to raise their theoretical standards, thereby more effectively serving economic leadership and guidance. As for us, the State Planning Commission, we have the task of helping statistical and planning cadres at all levels to reinforce their professional knowledge and we have to be more closely connected with the localities to help in the drawing up of plans.

As our spirit is one of utter opposition to bureaucracy and waste in economic management, we must, first of all, thoroughly grasp this spirit in drawing up plans, because inaccurate plans will cause very great waste. In order to raise the quality of State plans, it is necessary to pay attention to the good drafting of plans at basic units, to rouse the masses of workers and peasants to take part in the drawing up of plans from below, in co-ordination with guidance from above. In following the mass line in making plans, we will be able to concentrate the intelligence of the masses and turn State plans into programmes of action of the masses. The more accurately a plan is drawn up, the more the masses approve and strive to fulfil it, and the more its character as a law is enhanced.

The requirement of economic planning is to ensure the utmost enhancement of the superiority of the

socialist economy, to promote the rapid and balanced development of economic and cultural departments. To reach this goal, in making plans, we must firmly grasp the viewpoint of development, the unified settlement of the relations between needs and possibilities, we must look far ahead and all-sidedly, analyze the actual situation deeply, determine the line of advance, and define practical measures to make our plans both active and firm. Our Party's stand is to take the North towards socialism rapidly, vigorously and steadily ; this is the fundamental idea directing the planning of the national economy. It is necessary to wage a radical struggle against conservatism and scepticism, which are still fairly widespread among our cadres, and at the same time, to overcome the tendencies to thoughtless optimism, departing from realities. The level of our production and techniques is still low, our economy still faces many difficulties ; on the other hand, we must understand that we have great latent capacities and many possibilities to develop and progress. We will not wait till we have all the required conditions to advance rapidly, but we must endeavour to develop favourable conditions, overcome difficulties and create the necessary conditions for a rapid advance. The work of keeping an overall balance must be strengthened, any loss of balance must be discovered in time, the problem of balance must be solved in a positive manner so as to ensure a high rate of development. In construction and production, particular attention must be given to the balance of materials and raw materials ; we must pay attention not only to the general balance in the whole country, for a whole year, but also to the

balance in a region, over a short period of time ; consideration must be given to the whole, but efforts must be concentrated on important points. Nor do we separate the rapidity and vigour of our advance from its steadiness. The rate stipulated in the plan is aimed at stimulating the activity and labour enthusiasm of the masses and must not create tense situations in the fulfilment of the plan. Long-term plans must be drawn up in line with active norms, but their steadiness merits particular attention ; in annual plans, we will set higher norms to be struggled for, on the basis of actual possibilities. With regard to a number of indices, we shall apply, if necessary, the method of two registers, the first one to mention the indices the fulfilment of which must be guaranteed, the second one to mention higher indices which we must struggle for in order to overfulfil the State plan. The two registers must form a system of indices unified from higher to lower levels. Among these indices, we must distinguish those which are to be rigidly controlled and those in which a certain latitude is allowed, so as to ensure the principle of democratic centralism in economic management and the proportionate character of the plan. In order to give the plan a fully realistic character, we make a deep study of economic, technical and organizational measures. As President Ho Chi Minh often reminds us, if the index in the plan is one, our steps to fulfil it must be one and a half, and our determination must be two — then only, the overfulfilment of our plan will be ensured.

To draw up plans is to foresee, that is to say to see a long way ahead, to go ahead of actual achievement ; to combine immediate tasks with long-term

ones, to prepare in every aspect for a continuous development of all activities. Therefore, the First Five-Year plan must practically prepare for the Second Five-Year Plan, this year's plan must actively prepare for next year's. We must also advance to the establishment of long-term plans for the development of agriculture, industry, training of cadres, etc., and strive to cooperate with the brother countries in long-term plans concerning each of these tasks. For annual plans, we must overcome difficulties and strive to draw up plans and delegate tasks to the localities earlier than is done at present ; we must put an end to the situation in which, due to our tardiness in drafting plans resulting in lack of time to prepare material and technical conditions, there is slackness at the beginning of the year but too great a strain at the end of the year, wasting a great amount of manpower and wealth and adversely influencing the rate of development. Of all the different parts of the plan, we must draw up earliest the section dealing with agricultural production, so as to launch in time the winter-spring production drive ; and the section dealing with capital construction, so as to push forward construction in the fourth quarter of the preceding year and in the first and second quarters of the current year, the weather in these periods being most favourable for capital construction. In particular, we must endeavour to improve the drafting of plans for imports and exports so as to sign in time agreements with brother countries and to ensure the timely supply of equipment and raw materials to branches of construction and production.

In the year to come, on the basis of the resolutions of the Congress and the draft control figures, we will

elaborate the First Five-Year Plan. It is necessary to further improve the drafting of plans at all levels and in all departments, as well at that of the State Plan, with a view to making good recommendations for the Five-Year Plan.

We must turn the lines and indices of the Plan into conscious actions of millions of people, bringing about the best material and moral results in accordance with concrete targets defined beforehand, with a view to leading our society gradually forward and translating our lofty socialist ideal into reality.

For this purpose, we have to raise the Party's capacity in guiding the fulfilment of the plan, to strengthen the role of the State in managing the fulfilment of the plan, and to launch a strong and widespread movement for patriotic emulation among the broad masses.

The Political Report of the Central Committee has pointed out the need for the strengthening of leadership in various aspects : ideology, policy and organization ; these are very important problems which we shall have to study concretely and to solve in time so as to improve our economic management and make it conform to the development of the socialist relations of production and of the productive forces. It is necessary to make the masses understand the lines and policies of the Party and the State, to nurture their love of the Fatherland, their hatred for the U.S.-Diem clique, and their socialist consciousness, to stimulate their labour enthusiasm, and their spirit of daring to think and daring to do. To transform this moral force into material force, to develop all the abilities of the

masses, we must strive to strengthen the organization of implementation. It is necessary to continue to put into practice the division of management among various levels in a systematic way ; parallel with the division of management among various levels regarding production, building, transport, training of cadres, etc., there must be an appropriate division of management concerning finance, materials, and execution of plans. On the basis of the strengthening of the unified centralized leadership of the Central organs, it is necessary to develop to the utmost the activity and creativeness of the localities and enterprises, to raise the ability and responsibility of the Party Committees, and Administrative Committees of the autonomous areas, industrial areas, cities, towns, and provinces in economic management. The ministries must closely co-operate with one another and with the localities so as rationally to meet national and local needs economic and cultural development, ensure the balanced development of different activities in each department and each locality, and overcome bureaucracy, waste, and corruption. The mass organizations have their highly important task and role in the organization and mobilization of the masses for the implementation of the plan, therefore the economic and cultural bodies of the State must closely co operate with the Trade-Union organizations, the Labour Youth Union and the Women's Union in the activities concerning them, so as to implement satisfactorily the policies of the Party and the State. In enterprises and on construction sites, it is necessary to develop the initial successes in the improvement of management, to apply correctly the system of

responsibility of the administrative head of the unit, to strengthen the leadership of the Party Committees, and the role of the trade unions, workers and employees in management, to continue the modification of regulations and rules, to organize and mobilize the workers to compete with one another in improving technique and rationalizing production. To help satisfactorily management work in enterprises, farms, and on construction sites, to develop the activity and creativeness of the workers, to strongly and all-sidedly promote the development of production, all ministries must raise the level of management of the execution of the plans, strengthen the work of management concerning materials, technique, labour, financial affairs, make all out efforts to lead the most important units, closely watch and solve in time the difficulties and demands of the bases. Hand in hand with the strengthening of leadership of the State economy, it is necessary to strengthen leadership of the co-operative economy. The study and putting into effect of concrete policies concerning the agricultural co-operatives and handicraft co-operatives has a very important effect, promoting the satisfactory completion of socialist transformation, and at the same time guiding the co-operatives to increase production according to the requirements of the State plan. It is necessary to keep a close watch on the progress of the movement for socialist transformation, bring a correct and timely solution to the need for development of the movement, overcome the difficulties and shortcomings, arouse the enthusiasm and ardour in works of the co-operative members. Party Committees must firmly hold the leadership over a number of co-operatives taken as testing grounds, broadly popularize good

experiences, prevent errors, pay attention to helping the co-operatives to strengthen the work of managing production, labour, financial affairs, utilizing in a rational way accumulated funds, correctly solving the relationship between the co-operatives and their members, between the co-operatives and the State.

In the present socialist revolution in the North, we are shifting our central task to the building of socialism, therefore, more than ever, our Party must raise its ability to lead economy and culture to be equal to the requirements of the tasks : at the same time it must strengthen the role of the State in the management of the execution of the plan. This is a fundamental condition for ensuring the implementation of the general line in the North, in the immediate future to ensure the successful fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan.

Comrades,

At present, everywhere in the northern part of our country, the patriotic emulation movement of the various strata of the working masses is in full swing. Everybody is struggling for the successful fulfilment of the 1960 Plan and the Three-Year Plan, to offer his achievement to welcome our great national festival, the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and to welcome the Party's Congress. The success of the Congress will further stimulate the people's confidence and enthusiasm, thereby creating favourable conditions for the switch-over to the First Five-Year Plan.

We all understand that the tasks of the First Five-Year Plan are very heavy but very glorious. With the

successful fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan, the economy of north Viet Nam will undergo manifest changes. As the Political Report of the Central Committee has pointed out, " this is a very important step taken by our people on their way to socialism ". From a very backward agricultural economy, the bulk of which is represented by scattered and individual production, with an almost non-existent industry, within only a little more than ten years after the war, we will advance to a homogeneous socialist economy, with advanced agriculture and advanced industry, the proportion being approximately the same for these two branches. " This is a very important step... " because, once this step has been taken, in the Second Five-Year Plan, we can advance towards the building of the northern part of our country into a socialist industrial-agricultural country, thus basically doing away with the present backwardness in production.

By the end of 1965, socialist relations of production in the two forms of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership will be absolutely prevalent in the national economy, the material and technical foundations of socialism will be initially laid in agriculture, communications and transport, and especially in industry ; cadres for economic construction and skilled workers will increase in numbers and to some extent in quality ; the patriotic emulation movement of the masses will become increasingly wider and more lively. We will actively struggle to create those factors on the basis of which we will continue to lead our economy and culture in the North rapidly, vigorously and steadily forward, along socialist lines.

With regard to agriculture, from small and scattered production, the co-operatives will gradually advance towards ever bigger organizations. On the basis of improved farm implements and techniques, on the basis of initial measures taken in water conservancy and in mechanization, we will bring a stable solution to the food problem and push forward the development of other departments more all-sidedly, especially the cultivation of industrial crops and the breeding of livestock, thus creating favourable conditions for socialist industrialization.

With regard to industry, after the Five-Year Plan, in the northern part of our country about ten industrial areas will have taken shape, including the relatively concentrated areas of Hanoi, Thai Nguyen, Viet Tri, Haiphong, Hong Gai. In the mountainous regions, we are beginning to build a number of important industrial bases. The main departments of heavy and light industry will be built into an ever more balanced system, capable of supplying an important share of our requirements in iron and steel, fertilizers..., a part of the needs in equipment, and almost all the consumer goods commonly used by the working people. Thanks to the rapid development of both industry and agriculture, north Viet Nam will take an important step in the building of an independent economy ; at the same time the possibilities for international co-operation between our country and the brother countries will be gradually increased.

Along with economic development, and on the basis of ever-growing production, the material and cultural life of the toiling people will be manifestly

improved a further step. Every child of school-age will have the opportunity to go to school and grown-up people will receive complementary education ; after the Five-Year Plan period, the universal application of first-level general education will fundamentally be completed in the plains. All men and women of working-age will have employment. All people of talent will be helped, encouraged and given conditions to develop their creativeness and to contribute to socialist construction. The real income of workers and peasants will be adequately increased ; the working people will have adequate food and clothing and will be able to buy more of the daily necessities ; social welfare in town and countryside will be improved with every passing day.

We are facing very fine prospects. We must strive to turn these possibilities into realities. In the light of the resolutions of the Congress and under the leadership of the Central Committee, with the wholehearted assistance of the brother countries, with our people's traditions of heroic struggle and industrious labour, undoubtedly our people will successfully fulfil the tasks of the First Five-Year Plan, taking the North to advance steadily towards the building of socialism, and consolidating the North into a solid base for the struggle to reunify our Fatherland.

ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	INSTEAD	PLEASE READ
22	last line	contribute	contributed
24	21	progress	progress
26	1	strenthening	strengthening
34	10	commun	commu-
35	11	ications	nications
83	19	technique	technique
85	26	managemet	management
87	7	expanditures	expenditures
101	24	to increace	to increase
101	27	enducation	education
112	3	at that	as that

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE !

**THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE
VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY**

VOLUME III

ADDRESSES

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party is in three volumes. Volume One contains the opening address, the political report, the resolution, the appeal and the closing address read at the Congress. Volume Two contains a report on the tasks and directions for the First Five-Year Plan for the development of national economy. Volume Three contains a selection of ten addresses made by delegates.

CONTENTS

	Page
The Party's ideological work <i>by Truong Chinh</i>	7
Strengthening national defence and building up the people's armed forces <i>by Vo Nguyen Giap</i>	41
On the people's democratic state <i>by Pham Van Dong</i>	67
Strengthening the struggle against counter- revolutionaries <i>by Tran Quoc Hoan</i>	95
Socialist industrialisation <i>by Le Thanh Nghi</i>	117
Accelerating the development of agricultural production all sidedly, vigorously and steadily to make it a basis for socialist industrialis- ation <i>by Pham Hung</i>	153
On the basis of the great victories already obtained, to continue to promote the move- ment for agricultural co-operation to build the countryside <i>by Tran Huu Duc</i>	191
Relationship between accumulation and con- sumption, and diligent and economical build- ing of the country <i>by Hoang Anh</i>	217
On the question of national united front <i>by Ton Duc Thang</i>	239
Development of the role of trade-union orga- nisations in socialist industrialisation in north Viet Nam <i>by Hoang Quoc Viet</i>	255

**THE PARTY'S
IDEOLOGICAL WORK**

by **TRUONG CHINH**

Dear Comrades,

I completely agree with the Political Report of the Party's Central Committee made by comrade Le Duan, I want to add some views on the Party's ideological work:

Through thirty years of hard struggle under our Party's leadership, our people have won big successes. These successes are closely connected with our Party's correct application of Marxism-Leninism to the practical conditions of Viet Nam and with our Party's ideological work aimed at educating the cadres, Party members and labouring masses in Marxism-Leninism, developing their indomitable fighting tradition and creativeness in the cause of national liberation and socialist construction.

Right from its founding and in the process of revolutionary struggle, now illegal and now semi-legal, now in struggle under the enemy rule and then in activity under our regime, our Party has always considered ideological work as an important part of the whole revolutionary struggle of the Party. In the past, our Party waged a persevering and unremitting struggle against imperialist and feudal ideologies and their extremely disastrous influence on the Party and the masses, against the manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies such as reformist nationalism, trotskysm, nationalist narrowness and national inferiority complex etc. Besides, our Party also fought

rightist or 'leftist' opportunism within its ranks. Through this long struggle, our Party has developed the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method to its cadres and members and built up the Party's correct political lines.

During the Resistance War, the Party carried out ideological work widely and deeply to foster patriotism and intensify hatred for the aggressors and traitors, inculcated the viewpoint of "long-term Resistance War and self-sufficiency" to engrave the idea that "the Resistance War will win" on the mind of the masses and develop their revolutionary tradition, appealing to the army and people to overcome all difficulties, endure hardships in order to win final victory. Particularly after the Party's Second Congress, the ideological work made a new step forward: to widely and deeply advance the standpoint and viewpoint of the working class, the revolutionary virtues and way of life to hundreds of thousands of cadres and Party members, enabling them to firmly grasp and correctly implement the Party's lines and policies. The mobilization for three ideological remouldings (in the Party, in the army and in the re-adjustment of mass-work) was an important contribution to the victory of the Resistance War.

Since the restoration of peace, our country has been temporarily partitioned into two parts; we have taken over the urban areas and the newly liberated zones; in the North the Vietnamese revolution has shifted over to the new stage of transition to socialism. The duty of the Party is to unite the entire people to strictly implement the Geneva Agreements, uphold

peace and achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy. At the same time to strive to consolidate the North, restore economy, complete land reform, carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction so as to turn the North of our country into a firm and strong base for the struggle for national reunification. In order to fulfil the above political task, on the one hand, our Party must struggle against the tendencies to adventurism, pessimism and wavering regarding the problem of national reunification. On the other hand, the Party formulated the task concerning ideological work in the North as being to carry forward the struggle against imperialist and feudal ideologies, and primarily against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. At the same time our Party attaches importance to the heightening of vigilance, fostering of combativeness, criticizing of conceitedness, self-complacency, bureaucracy and commandism and the tendency to enjoy life and to shun difficulties and hardships. As this task is correct and well implemented in the main, consequently, on the whole, our Party has succeeded in strengthening the confidence and increasing the enthusiasm of the cadres and Party members, and masses of the people, inspiring everyone enthusiastically to make efforts in order to heal the war-wounds, restore production, complete land reform, wipe out the feudal regime of land ownership, and bring into practice the slogan 'land to the tiller'. In 1956, the imperialists and their henchmen, taking advantage of the criticism of the cult of personality made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and then by other Communist and Workers' Parties,

attempted to split and attack the leading organs of the Communist and Workers' Parties. They stepped up plots of putsch in a number of socialist countries and the Tito clique propagated revisionism in an attempt to poison the international communist and workers' movement.

At home, following the example of criticism and self-criticism set by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its XXth Congress, we reviewed our work in land reform and re-adjustment of organisation, brought to light the mistakes committed, courageously made criticism and self-criticism and worked out policies and measures to right the wrong. This was just an ideological struggle inside the Party against subjectiveness, 'leftist' tendencies and self-complacency. But the religious reactionaries and other henchmen of imperialism and of Ngo Dinh Diem in our midst, the landlord class and bourgeois elements and reactionary bourgeois intellectuals opposing socialism, colluded with one another and took advantage of our correction of mistakes committed in the land reform and readjustment of organisation, to try and carry out their dark schemes. The political and ideological struggle unrolled fiercely: on the one hand, we smashed to pieces the subversive activities of our class enemies, ensured public order and security, crushed the 'Nhan Van Giai Pham' group, and on the other hand, we carried out propaganda and explanatory work fairly, widely and deeply among the cadres and Party members and masses of people aimed at eliminating the influence of enemy ideologies, we criticised rightist opportunism and revisionism with a view to safeguarding the Party.

its lines and policies and the fruit of the revolution.. Consequently the situation was quickly stabilised and underwent good changes.

In 1958, after completion of the work of correcting mistakes, we summed up the land reform and assessed that the land reform was basically successful. At the same time we analysed and systematically criticised the shortcomings and errors committed in the land reform and readjustment of organisation, pointed out the causes and drew big lessons in leadership and in the direction of the work. Looking back, we can say that through the mobilisation for righting the wrong and the summing up of the land reform, as well as through the struggle against the saboteurs at the end of 1956 and early 1957, our Party has grown up and is more steeled and tempered.

Since 1958, we have actually entered the period of socialist transformation and construction in the North. To ensure the fulfilment of the new tasks, stepping up of socialist transformation and construction, our Party launched mobilisation drives for theoretical study and ideological struggle. Most typical were the drives for theoretical study, criticism and self-criticism of the cultural workers and journalists in early 1958; the ideological remoulding courses for Party cadres and members at all levels and in all branches; the discussions held in Autumn 1959 concerning the two paths in the countryside and the mobilisation to improve management of enterprises in 1958-1959. We closely combined the work of heightening patriotism, consciousness as masters of the country, national pride and determination to fight the U. S.-Diem clique and to

win national unification, with the preliminary building of socialist consciousness in the people's mind. Thus we correctly fulfilled the task in ideological work put forth by the Party that was "Opposing bourgeois ideology, criticising petty bourgeois ideology and uprooting imperialist and feudal ideologies". Thereby, our work brought good results. Millions of workers, peasants and petty-bourgeois gradually came to understand, after throwing down the imperialists and feudalists, the path they had to take in order to escape for ever from oppression, exploitation, poverty and hunger. Hundreds of thousands of workers in State and private enterprises were awakened to socialism. Thanks to that we have succeeded in developing the activity and creativeness of the masses in economic rehabilitation, the building of economy and culture and in the class struggle to transform capitalist industry and trade along socialist lines... Millions of labouring peasants, hundreds of thousands of craftsmen and small traders embarked on the path of collective work. The ideas, customs and habits connected with the regime of private ownership which had existed for thousands of years in our country were shaken. The consciousness as masters of the country, collectivism, socialist attitude to labour, new heroism, took deeper and deeper root in the masses of people. In every field, first and foremost on the production front, new-type men, the builders of the socialist society are making their appearance.

Why have we obtained the above-mentioned results?

First of all, because our Party is absolutely faithful to Marxism-Leninism, has always been striving to

apply the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method in the carrying out of ideological work.

Secondly, our Party has paid great attention to ideological work and considered it as an important part of the class struggle aimed at solving the problem "who will win", in the transitional period advancing to socialism, and in the process of national struggle in order to achieve national reunification.

Thirdly, we have closely co-ordinated the education of cadres, Party members and the masses in patriotism with their education in socialism. We have co-ordinated the rousing of patriotic feelings and the intensification of the hatred for the U.S.— Diem clique with education for socialist labour and socialist construction and the building of a new life in north Viet Nam.

Fourthly, we have linked ideological work with life to ensure the successful fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks in each period. We have conducted study drives to educate the whole Party and the entire people in Party line and policies, thus raising step by step their political consciousness. At the same time, through criticism and self-criticism we have struggled to overcome wrong conceptions and ideas. Thanks to that, in spite of many difficulties met in the new situation, we have obtained definite successes.

Fifthly, we have relied on the constant development of strong points and on the revolutionary activity of cadres, Party members and the mass of people to overcome shortcomings and errors, and we have succeeded in rousing enthusiasm, faith and revolutionary optimism in the Party and among the people. The

above are some reasons for the success of ideological work which are at the same time experiences that we have to continue to apply to ensure better results for the future.

However, in ideological work we are not without shortcomings. For instance: we lacked determination and prompt action against the reactionary propaganda of the saboteurs and lacked vigilance in relation to them. In period at the end of 1956 and the first six months of 1957, our hold on the ideological front was loosened to a certain extent and sometimes we were overcautious in regard to the "Nhan Van Giai Pham" Group, U.S.-Diem's organ of 'psychological action', mouthpiece of the feudal landlord class and the reactionary bourgeois element, agent of the comprador bourgeois tendency in north Viet Nam. After the repression of the ringleaders of the "Nhan Van Giai Pham" Group, we rested on our laurels, and in ideological struggle did not pursue them up to the hilt.

In ideological and theoretical work, we still have the tendency to empiricism and dogmatism. The expression of empiricism is that our ideological work is somewhat detached from theory; analysis and criticism of erroneous ideas are still belittled, over simplified and coercive; the force of persuasion is still weak. The expression of dogmatism is that we are often divorced from the reality, apply mechanically the experiences or theoretical conclusions of the brother parties; have not yet developed the independent spirit in research, have not studied profoundly the concrete situation of our country in order to make the theoretical and ideological work living, rich and creative.

We must strive to overcome these shortcomings, otherwise, from now on, our whole work will be much influenced.

Comrades,

At present, our people are struggling to fulfil two great tasks in relation to our country: socialist transformation and construction of north Viet Nam, and struggle against the U.S. - Diem clique to reunify the country. Socialist transformation has won basic victories, but it has not yet ended, chiefly in the political and ideological spheres where the struggle certainly will be long and complex. Meanwhile, the task of building socialism is gradually becoming the central task in north Viet Nam. We must struggle to fulfil the first Five-Year Plan satisfactorily and to lay the material and technical foundation of socialism.

Basing ourselves on the requirements of the revolutionary tasks of the Party and the frame of mind of the cadres, Party members and the masses of the people we must define the immediate duty and guiding principle for the ideological work of the Party in the present period. The task set for ideological work is always determined by the political task, and must serve it. We cannot detach the task of ideological work from the political task, neither can we oppose the one to the other. Our Party's immediate political task is to achieve socialist transformation and to promote the building of socialism in north Viet Nam, at the same time to struggle for the achievement of national reunification, consequently ideological work must guarantee the fulfilment of this task.

Concerning the ideological situation of our people, the prevalent ideology is patriotism, faith in the Party and determination to follow the Party and President Ho Chi Minh. The tendency to socialism is the main tendency among the masses of the working people, especially the peasants and the workers. But beside this main tendency, the ideology of private ownership and the habits of individual production are still rather common. Ours is a country in which the economy of small producers accounts for the greater part of the national economy. Moreover, it was subjected to the rule of the feudal landlord class and foreign bourgeoisie (the imperialist colonialists) for nearly a hundred years. Their ideology has deeply influenced the mind of various strata of our people. We must resolutely and perseveringly struggle against these ideologies and habits if we are to instil socialist consciousness into the masses, build a new spirit and new ethics, in order to fulfil the above political tasks in a satisfactory manner.

As to the cadres and Party members, how shall we behave towards them? All of us know that in the main our cadres and Party members are good, but beside this fundamental aspect they also have shortcomings and errors which are the expression of the existence of petty-bourgeois ideology and of the influence of other non-proletarian ideologies within the Party. First of all, the great majority of our cadres and Party members come from the petty-bourgeoisie (including peasants and urban petty-bourgeois), live and work in the midst of the masses whose majority are also petty-bourgeois

Ideological education is not deeply, broadly and continuously conducted by the Party. That is why it is easily understandable that petty-bourgeois ideology still exists in a rather generalized way among our cadres and Party members. Petty-bourgeois ideology manifests itself in unstable standpoint, in often seeing and thinking subjectively, one-sidedly detached from reality, easy to be over optimistic and also easy to be pessimistic, liberal, scattered, narrow-minded, short-sighted, hesitating and conservative, etc. At present, in the urban areas as well as in the countryside, the petty-bourgeois ideologies manifest themselves in a lack of sense of organization and discipline ; disregard of labour regulations and system of work, disregard of observance of the new mode of life ; wavering in embarking on the co-operative path, attachment to the way of individual production. They lack of clearcut ideas about joining the co-operative ; when there is a high yield they will remain within it, when there is a low one they will give up the co-operative ; lack of boldness in improving technique and organization ; inability to see new things ; lack of boldness in thought and action. The cadres do not thoroughly understand the food situation prevailing among the people, do not take determined steps to purchase surplus foodstuffs, do not carry out the policies on tax and debt collection. They easily waver at groundless rumours, do not make sufficient efforts to detect acts of sabotage and do not energetically repress the counter-revolutionaries in activity. While deciding any problem, the responsible organs do not try to investigate and study the situation, to follow the mass line, but rely only upon their own subjective

ideas to decide on the task. This leads to looseness and therefore sometimes the task cannot be carried out. These shortcomings and weaknesses have caused much damage to the revolution. The rightist and "leftist" tendencies within our Party from its founding to the present day have clearly shown the harm done by petty-bourgeois ideology. That is why in the work of tempering cadres and Party members, the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology is an urgent requirement which cannot be belittled.

But the petty-bourgeoisie never has an independent position; it is always influenced deeply by the ideology of the ruling classes. In conditions of long domination of the imperialist colonialists and the feudal landlord class, the petty-bourgeois class was deeply influenced by their ideology. In particular, among intellectuals working in cultural, educational, scientific and technical branches, the influence of the imperialist bourgeois ideology is still heavy. It is necessary to see this point clearly, otherwise we will not realize the profound character of class struggle on the ideological front. If the petty-bourgeois class has not been educated by the party of the working class, it often considers the bourgeois class standpoint as its own. Therefore, between the petty-bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois ideology there is a very close relationship. In fact, these two kinds of ideology are different from each other only in the level and form of manifestation but not in nature. Standing between the two ideological fronts, if the petty-bourgeoisie does not follow the proletariat it must follow the bourgeoisie since it is unable to have an independent and particular way of

its own. This is even clearer if we look into the character of the errors and shortcomings committed by the cadres and Party members in their economic and cultural work over the past years.

For instance, in economic work, it is necessary to apply a business accounting system and carry out beneficial undertakings, but many cadres have considered this matter from a purely business standpoint and sought for profit and dividends without paying attention to the political task. They think only of their own branch and section, but not of the whole situation, the requirements of the masses and the relations between the Party and the people. In the State purchase of grains following the harvest of last May, a number of cadres and Party members concealed paddy in their own houses or in others', so as to avoid selling it to the State. They indulged in hole-and-corner transactions and stockpiling and sold their product on the free market. Up to now, a small number of Party members in the countryside still have the tendency to get rich individually. Mention should be made that corruption and waste occur frequently, very seriously in some cases. In cultural, educational, scientific and technical work, a number of cadres and employees neglect the Party spirit, belittle the ideological question and separate their professional work from politics, so much so that in their thinking they have not acknowledged the Party's leadership over professional work. There are even literary and political works which uphold and propagate bourgeois idealism. On a number of fundamental political problems, many people still oppose dictatorship to democracy, freedom to discipline or

think that only the bourgeois democratic regime is genuinely democratic, and our people's democratic regime has a less democratic character, etc. This does not include such states of mind as chauvinism, national inferiority complex, fear and exaggerated esteem for the imperialists' strength, culture and science.

What class ideology do the above-mentioned errors and deviations reflect if not that of the bourgeoisie? Therefore, we can and must assess that in the economic, cultural, and political fields as well as in ethics and habits, the infiltration of bourgeois ideology in the Party and State organs is a rather serious problem. The petty-bourgeois origin of most of the cadres and Party members is precisely a vantage ground for the penetration and development of this influence. In north Viet Nam, a hard and complicated struggle is now unfolding hourly between the two paths — socialist and capitalist — and on the ideological front between proletarian ideology and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The struggle against the petty-bourgeois ideology is a most important struggle; to say so is not enough, the problem is not solved in its essence. The struggle for the triumph of socialism is a class struggle aimed at wiping out capitalism and completely transforming the bourgeoisie along socialist lines. Therefore, it must be realized that nipping the bourgeois ideology in the bud is the primary task of socialist revolution in the ideological field. This is a matter of principle to which there must be no concession or compromise, because such an attitude, either conscious or unconscious, will

infallibly lead to a loss of political vigilance in class struggle.

On the other hand, our country in the past, like south Viet Nam today, was a colonial and semi-feudal country. Though in the North the landlord class has been overthrown, and imperialism eradicated, yet the vestiges of feudalism and imperialism still remain in all individuals. Now that the imperialists and feudalists are still ruling over the South, every hour they use their broadcasting station and reactionary elements camouflaged under religious cloaks and especially the spies, to secretly connive with the die-hard exploiters and counter-reactionaries in order to propagate their reactionary ideas in north Viet Nam's society by every possible means. We cannot say that their propaganda against communism and distortion of our system and our camp, their reactionary idealistic doctrine of "human dignity", their hooliganism and their depraved American "way of life" have not exerted an influence on north Viet Nam's society. Of course, let us not exaggerate these influences. Among all the strata of the population living formerly in the enemy controlled zones, especially among the intelligentsia and officials, soldiers and employees of the old regime, imperialism and feudalism still exert great influence. After the taking over of the enemy occupied zones, this situation exerted pressure upon our cadres and Party members, especially those who had not been steeled in the revolutionary struggle and armed with Marxism-Leninism. Manifestations showing admiration and fear of imperialism, national inferiority complex, cult of imperialist technique and culture, still exist in the minds of some

comrades, especially the intellectuals working in the cultural, educational, medical, scientific and technical branches. Such ideas as hierarchy and rank, attitudes of paternalism, bureaucracy, arrogance, discrimination between men and women bequeathed by the feudal landlord class still exist among the cadres and Party members, especially in the countryside. Among the masses of the people, rural cadres and Party members of minority regions, superstitions are still rife.

Summing up, the thinking, feelings, customs and habits inherited from the colonial and semi-feudal regime are things which, from now on, call for a great deal of patient effort to wipe out. The spiritual outlook of north Viet Nam's society will then be transformed and communism will be able to permeate all people's minds.

Therefore, starting from the objectives of the revolutionary tasks at the new stage of development and the state of mind of the cadres, Party members and the population at large, the political report of the Party Central Committee has clearly set the task for the Party's ideological work as follows:

a) In north Viet Nam's society in general, the educational work and ideological struggle must be aimed at constantly raising the socialist consciousness, patriotism, determination for national reunification and spirit of being the masters of the land; for our people to fight against any manifestation of bourgeois ideology, criticizing the petty-bourgeois ideology and continuing to wipe out all vestiges of feudal ideology and other erroneous ideas.

b) In the Party in particular, "ideological work aims at fostering proletarian ideology on the basis of systematical education in Marxism-Leninism, opposing the influence of bourgeois ideology, combatting petty-bourgeois ideology, and continuing to wipe out the vestige of feudal ideology and other non-proletarian ideologies."

The Party is a part of the people, but in general the level of the cadres and Party members is higher than that of the people. The Party demands of the cadres and Party members a higher political consciousness than that of the people. Therefore it is correct to put forth tasks and guiding principles in ideological work with discrimination as is mentioned above.

The immediate ideological work must be based on the demands of the revolution and state of mind of the cadres and Party members in each period, to embody in a concrete form the duty and guiding principles of the above-mentioned ideological work to make them practical and concrete.

To fulfil the above-mentioned task of the ideological work is to actually contribute to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan and the speeding up of the struggle for national reunification, and at the same time it is a further step forward in socialist revolution in the ideological sphere. The target of this revolution, as is stated in the Political Report, is "to enable the people, first of all the labouring people, to be imbued with socialist ideology, to get rid of the old outlook on the world and the old conception of life, to build a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and

Communist conception of life, to secure absolute supremacy for Marxism-Leninism in the moral life of our country, and to make it the ideology of the entire people, and on this basis to build up new ethics for our people”.

Dear comrades,

In order to implement the above-mentioned tasks of the ideological work of the Party, we have to put into practice the following concrete measures:

1. To combine the systematic education of Marxist-Leninist theory with ideological training in productive labour and struggle

At the present stage of socialist revolution, the systematic study of Marxist-Leninist theory has become a pressing requirement. During these last few years, thanks to the strengthening of the system of Party schools and the organization of study on the job, thanks to the efforts of the Central Bureau of Propaganda and Education, of Bureaus of Propaganda and Education at all levels, of various branches and of cadres responsible for political lectures in schools, the education of Marxism-Leninism has been broadened. But we must be aware that the theoretical training of Party cadres especially for high and middle ranking cadres has not yet been given adequate attention. Our work of theoretical education at present, essentially aims only at serving the immediate political tasks. We have not yet paid sufficient attention to fundamental and long-term theoretical education. The work concerning theoretical studies is still deficient, because it is not concentrated, lacks continuity and close leadership.

So, although our Party has a history of thirty years of struggle, up till now, out of half a million Party members, only over one thousand cadres have systematically studied fundamental theory in a systematic manner. The number of cadres engaged in theoretical study and having a high theoretical level is still very small. This state of thing explains why empiricism and busy-bodyism are rather common among our cadres. Many comrades, for want of a systematic theoretical training, lacking regular investigation and studies, often have a backward perception and ideological stand with regard to the development of the movement; therefore, they become conservative, narrow-minded, short-sighted, their initiative and creativeness are hamstrung and they feel embarrassed when having to do something on their own initiative.

At present, many of our comrades have realized clearly that without a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, one cannot do his work well. However, among cadres and Party members, chiefly middle and high Party cadres, some people are lazy, or some take upon themselves so much work that they have no time for study. So, willy nilly, they adopt busy-bodyism, short-sightedness and often labour under great difficulties.

From now on, the Party demands that every comrade, chiefly those who assume leading positions in the Party from provincial level upwards, should make it a duty to study Marxism-Leninism thoroughly, as provided for in the Constitution of the Party; they must see clearly that theoretical studies are a requirement of the Party spirit, are a yard-stick of the

consciousness of Party members. We must alter our style of work, and energetically liquidate the tendency to take everything upon oneself, so that the leading cadres at all levels can have time for study.

Theoretical studies must be closely connected with reality; we must avoid dogmatism, bookishness. The best way is to closely combine theoretical study with ideological training in the practice of productive labour and class struggle. We have a number of good experiences in this sphere. From now on, we have to define a system to send cadres at all levels, in all branches to participate in practical work in basic units, so as to temper themselves.

We have to consolidate and strengthen the organs of propaganda and education at all levels, in all branches, to help propaganda and educational cadres to study and do their job well.

Party committees should not appoint and transfer cadres without rhyme or reason or impel them to do other work, while their main work of propaganda and education cannot be done or is imperfectly done. Of course propaganda and educational cadres as well as those of other branches must be trained through practical work, labour production and struggle. It is good for them to co-ordinate their propaganda and educational work while participating in the movement in the primary organizations. But Party committees at various levels have to reserve cadres for the organs of propaganda and education, definite time and forces so that they can carry out the work of their own branch, otherwise the whole plan for propaganda and education of the Party committee would be upset, which would

exert a bad effect on the plan for propaganda and education of the Party as a whole.

In order to help the theoretical studies run smoothly, we have to consolidate the system of Party schools, to strengthen the editorial Board of the theoretical review and the Truth Publishing House, to reserve for those organs cadres capable of assuming theoretical work of a rather high level and quality. We must endeavour to train cadres for theoretical work and to pay attention to the fostering of these cadres in all spheres. At present, the number of our cadres in charge of theoretical work is small. Moreover, they are utilized in an irrational and scattered way. This state of thing must be quickly altered.

2. To intensify the teaching of current events and policies to cadres, Party members and the masses

Beside systematic theoretical study of the cadres, Party members (and also the masses of the people) have to be educated regularly on current events and policies. The teaching of current events and policies is an important part of the ideological work of the Party. At present, this work is still inadequate, many burning questions on current events and policies are not widely popularised or are very slowly popularised among the cadres, Party members, and the masses of the people, especially in the countryside and mountain areas. The Current Events Review has not been used widely and strengthened. Many Party and administrative Committees at various levels do not utilize the organs of propaganda and education to explain current events and policies and they themselves do not do that job,

so much so that, when something arises to be done they have to resort to commandism, and force the masses to execute their order. The ignorance of the questions of current events and policies is often the cause of worries, deviations, mistakes committed by Party members and the masses; they are loopholes seized upon by the reactionary forces to distort things, to deceive and to sow confusion among the people.

From now on, we must improve our work in this sphere. The popularisation of current events and policies must be conducted deeply and widely, in time, with a rich content and good quality. We must thoroughly utilize books and radio broadcasts, but the best way of carrying out propaganda is by oral explanations. We have to swell the ranks of cadres in charge of propaganda of current events and policies, so as to meet the evergrowing requirements of cadres, Party members and the masses.

Up to now, we have paid little attention to fostering and training cadres to help them carry out this work. So, when cadres lecturing on current events, fail to give an answer, or reply wrongly to questions put by the masses, they cause more worries among them. This state of things must be ended.

3. Acceleration of the theoretical work and recapitulation of experiences by the Party

The experiences of the struggle of our Party and people are very rich, but little has been done for their recapitulation. This is a big mistake.

We are completing the task of the National People's Democratic Revolution throughout the country. The

summing up of experiences regarding the National People's Democratic Revolution, which is the bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type in our country, is directly useful to the struggle for the achievement of national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, liberation of the Southern people from the yoke of the U.S. - Diem clique and at the same time it is useful to the cause of the present socialist revolution in the North. The experiences summed up from the Chinese revolution, the Korean revolution and the Vietnamese revolution, together with the new and abundant experiences of the revolution from colonies and semi-colonies since the end of the Second World War, have contributed and are contributing to the development of the revolutionary theory of the working class and oppressed people throughout the world.

Now we are also carrying out socialist revolution in the North, i. e. in a backward agricultural country which is going through the stage of development of capitalism and advancing directly towards socialism, in a country which was a colony and is now divided into two zones. A series of problems on the theory of socialist revolution in the North of our country have been put forward and require study by us to summarize experiences and draw conclusions—the problem of combining the strategy of socialist revolution with that of the national people's democratic revolution; the problem of the people's democracy dictatorship (proletarian dictatorship in essence) in the conditions of our country having a broad national united front; the problem of peaceful socialist transformation of private

capitalist industry and commerce; the problem of socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and small traders; the policy and guiding principle of socialist industrialization and mechanization in agriculture. The problem of relations of production, of accumulation and consumption, of distribution and exchange, the various forms and method of management of industry and agriculture in our country during the period of transition to socialism, etc. This Congress has pointed out the direction for us to continue to study those problems. Summarizing experiences from the practice of the socialist revolution in our country, at the same time searching and studying the rich experiences of the socialist revolution from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is indispensable. We must certainly carry out this work if we do not want to grope our way and to become busybodies.

In the present world, there are problems of strategy and tactics of the world communist movement such as the character of our era, the problems of war and peace and peaceful co-existence, the problem of different forms in the period of transition to socialism in various countries. The world situation since the end of the Second World War has undergone great changes. In the light of reality the Communist and Workers' Parties must study the above-mentioned problems with great care.

Life demands that the Communist and Workers' Parties should creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to their own concrete conditions for only by so doing can these Parties contribute to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin said: "We do not consider

Marxist-Leninist theory as something perfect and untouchable, on the contrary, we believe that this theory only lays blocs of foundations for science which socialists have to push forward in all spheres if they do not want to lag behind the situation. "

But to create the new, we must first grasp the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, grasp the essence of this doctrine. Moreover, we still have to study the objective practical situation and to sum up the revolutionary experiences from the masses, i.e. to correctly apply our Marxist-Leninist standpoint, class viewpoint and method in order to fully understand the problem concerned and solve it. Otherwise, we will fall into dogmatism or revisionism.

The Declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of Twelve Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries and the Peace Manifesto of the Conference of 65 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957 are the common programme of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the present period history. The Declaration of the Conference of 12 Communist and Workers' Parties has summarized the experiences of forty years of revolutionary struggle waged by the working class in the world from the Russian October Revolution onward, and defined the lines and guiding principles for the working class and the toiling people throughout the world in their struggle to liberate themselves from all oppression and exploitation. The decisions of the 20th Congress and 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have developed the Marxist-Leninist theories on a number of important problems concerning the struggle

for world peace and for socialism and communism. We should firmly grasp the spirit of those valuable documents in studying the theoretical problems of the Vietnamese revolution and of current international events, and at the same time apply it in a creative manner to the practical situation of our country at the present time.

So, we see clearly that the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism, the study of current events, policies, theoretical study and review of experiences are very important problems influencing and closely connected with each other.

Recapitulation of experiences is a difficult and complex work to which not only the Central Committee, but also the Party committees at all levels in all branches must devote their attention. Summing up experiences is the process of creation and improvement. If well done, it will help us to recapitulate the old in order to further understand and well achieve the new, thus curbing busy-bodyism, blindness or dogmatism and tendency to be mechanical which have existed in many comrades, at the same time bringing about a closer unity of mind in our Party.

Besides, to correctly summarize historical experiences of our Party is to lay good foundations for the elaboration of the Party's history for which all our cadres and Party members are longing.

4. Carrying out criticism and self-criticism in the Party

Criticism and self-criticism are the law of development of a Marxist-Leninist Party. The political report

said : criticism and self-criticism are a sharp weapon used by our Party to combat wrong thinking and tendencies in the Party. That is why we must promote criticism and self-criticism, particularly, criticism from lower to higher levels in order to heighten our cadres' and Party members' ideological standard and intensify the solidarity and unity in the Party.

Our Party has a certain number of experiences about criticism and self-criticism in the ideological rectification movement and in the summing up of land reform. But, at present, criticism and self-criticism have not yet become a habit in Party life. Sometimes, our comrades carry out criticism and self-criticism in a compulsory and partial way. For example, we only criticize shortcomings and do not praise strong points, we often make hasty conclusions, give labels to the persons concerned. There was little profound analysis and criticism, and that is why it lacked a persuasive character. Sometimes we belittled criticism and self-criticism by paying great attention to petty shortcomings in daily life, but tolerated shortcomings and mistakes in political and ideological fields which are fundamental errors in principle.

Criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings and mistakes in the Party must be carried out regularly, but sometimes, they must concentrated on ideological rectification. From now on, we must seriously carry out criticism and self-criticism in the Party and give them a sharp political and ideological content with a view to correction in time shortcomings and mistakes in our work, at the same time, actively contributing to the political and ideological training of our cadres as

well as Party members, and strengthening the solidarity and the one-mindedness of the Party.

5. Closely coordinating with various arms on the ideological front

The press, broadcasting stations, literary and art organs, publishing houses and cinema, etc. are the means for educating in proletarian ideology, communist ethics, for training and fostering the new man, for mobilizing all the people in the building of socialism in the North and in the struggle for national reunification; they are at the same time the "efficient arms" which must be coordinated harmoniously to fight against the non-proletarian ideology, against deceptive sophistries of the counter-revolutionaries in the North and the U.S.-Diem clique in the South.

It is necessary to overcome the tendency to consider ideological work as a simple organization to study Marxism-Leninism undertaken by a professional organ. The other organs often have almost no such responsibility at all. With regard to the ideological education of cadres, of Party members and the masses, especially of the young generation, cultural and educational organizations, literary and artistic organs occupy an important position and exert considerable influence.

In order to help these above-mentioned organizations and organs make worthy contributions to the mobilization of the people in their patriotic emulation, in order to fulfil the State plan and to struggle for national reunification, we must intensify our Party's leadership towards these organizations and organs, at

the same time helping them raise the political and ideological level of the cadres, especially responsible cadres.

At present, we must strive to put into practice the following measures :

1. To raise the quality of all activities of education, information, propaganda, publication work, literature, art, and cinema, etc., to draw the activities close to life, reflect the movement and timely serve the movement. To overcome the tendencies to run after quantity and to look down upon quality.

2. To intensify the Party leadership to achieve ideological education and struggle in a systematic manner, with priority to important points. To closely co-ordinate various sectors of the ideological front in order to concentrate firing power against non-proletarian ideologies.

6. Intensification of the leadership of the Party as regards ideological work

First of all, we must realize that the whole Party has to carry out ideological and propaganda work, because political and ideological work is the soul of all works, not only serving the immediate concrete tasks but also transforming the face of the whole society, and of tens of millions of people.

Under no circumstances must we consider ideological work as a sort of magic medicine or a "talisman" "to settle worries" to be used only in case of need. To do so is to minimize the significance and usefulness of Marxist-Leninist theory, of ideological work, and to reduce it to trifles.

At present, many cadres, beside their professional work, do not carry out Party work, propagate Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the Party. Worse still, there are comrades who, when appointed to a special branch, know only their professional work and do not pay any attention to political and ideological questions, transforming themselves into vulgar officials. Our Party must formulate concrete regulations so that each Party member, regardless of his position and work, has to do concrete ideological work. Propaganda, a chief part of ideological work, must be considered as one of the basic works of the Party which every Party member is duty bound to carry out successfully.

All levels, all branches, must raise their capacity of leadership over their work to the extent of their political and ideological leadership, and considered ideological work as a key to fulfil their work. I propose that, from now on, all instructions and decisions of the Party must clearly mention the question of ideological leadership when the work is completed and ideological work to have an appropriate position on the agenda of all Party committees.

In general, reports sent from a lower level to a higher level, and from all branches to higher committees, must not fail to mention the ideological work during the process of mobilizing the masses to put into effect the Party and State lines and policies. In planning work at all levels and in all branches, it is also necessary clearly to work out ideological work.

All of us are happy to realize that in the political report and report of the Central Committee before the

Congress on the revised Constitution of the Party, the tasks and directives, ideological work occupy an important position.

The Party must firmly take in hand such organs dealing with the ideological work as the press, all information services and broadcasting stations and cultural and educational organs. To hold them in hand does not mean to do all the work or to issue general instructions, or from time to time to ask some formal questions but to follow, control, supervise and work out political lines in order to create good working conditions for them.

To intensify the leadership of the Party as regards ideological work, we must have plans to train and foster the cadres doing ideological work. The Central Propaganda and Education Bureau and the propaganda and training committees at all levels must be the headquarters of all Party committee members on the ideological front, therefore they must be strengthened and stabilized.

Ideological work is the most delicate work, for it touches upon human confidence and sentiment, it grasps the main artery of society and has the capacity of bringing into play conscientiousness, activity, initiative and creativeness of the masses, thus carrying out all tasks outlined by the Party. Each leading body of the Party must make a thorough study of the question of ideological leadership, use ideological work as an impetus for other works.

Comrades,

Above are a number of views regarding the ideological work of our Party. I believe that in the light of the resolutions of this 3rd Congress, the ideological and theoretical work of our Party will develop to a new level and will reap unprecedented good crops — the immediate crop to be reaped in ideological work is to mobilize and educate the whole Party and the entire people to strive to put into effect the decisions of the Congress and to overfulfil the First Five-Year Plan.

Under the leadership of the Party headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, we shall certainly successfully achieve the socialist revolution in the ideological sphere as well as in others.

**STRENGTHENING NATIONAL
DEFENCE AND BUILDING UP THE
PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES**

by VO NGUYEN GIAP

Dear Comrades,

I feel very much honoured to convey to the Third National Congress of the Party the warmest greetings of all the Party members, officers and men in the Viet Nam People's Army.

This National Congress of delegates of the Party is an extremely important event in our people's political life. It will define the line of the socialist revolution in the North and that of the struggle for national reunification and completion of the national people's democratic revolution all over the country.

During the period of preparations for the Congress, the various Party organizations in the Army took part in the discussions on the draft reports of the Congress in an extremely active, lively and enthusiastic spirit. I would like to report to the Congress that we fully approve the content of the political report of the Central Committee read by comrade Le Duan.

In this speech, I would like to refer to a number of experiences of our Party in leading the armed struggle before dealing with the work of strengthening national defence and building up the armed forces in the present stage.

Comrades,

The Central Committee's report has pointed out in a brief but complete way the process of leading the

Revolution and the essential experiences of our Party over the last 30 years. We may say that during this historical period, armed struggle played an important part; the leading of the armed struggle and of the building up of armed forces is one of our Party's essential successes.

Our Party led the people in the general uprising which brought about the victory of the August Revolution.

The August general uprising was a victorious uprising of the people of a colonial and semi-feudal country under the leadership of the working class' Party. Through a long process of political struggle, which developed into local armed struggle during the pre-revolutionary period, our people at last seized the favourable opportunity: taking advantage of the extreme crisis in which the enemy found itself, and mainly using political forces with the support of the revolutionary armed forces and para-military forces, they valiantly rose up in towns as well as in the countryside, smashed the yoke of the imperialists and the feudalists, set up people's power, and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The August general uprising was typical of a victorious uprising in a colonial and semi-feudal country, and a clever combination of political and armed struggles, of the political forces of the masses and the revolutionary armed forces.

The success of the August general uprising shows that in the present world situation, the liberation struggle of the people of a colonial country, in certain historical conditions can achieve success through the

form of uprising. This is an experience of a creative character which the rich developments in the national liberation movement over recent years tend more and more to confirm.

Immediately after the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with a view to safeguarding and developing the fruits of the August Revolution in the face of foreign invasion, our Party led the people to take up arms and to wage the Resistance War. In extremely difficult and hard conditions, having to deal with an enemy several times stronger, it was able to unite and mobilize all patriotic classes and strata, in the first place the broad peasant masses, to organize an all-out protracted national resistance war, and to wage a great people's war without precedent in the history of our country.

The victory of our people's sacred Resistance War is the victory of the people of a colonial and semi-feudal country with no large area, no big population, and an extremely backward agricultural economy, which rose to wage a protracted armed struggle against an aggressive imperialist country.

This victory is eloquent evidence of the fact that in the present world situation, the liberation struggle of a weak people can achieve victory through a protracted armed struggle — a protracted resistance war.

Amidst the flames of a fierce armed struggle, our Party successfully led the building up of the people's revolutionary armed forces.

The Party founded the army and led it to fight and win successive victories. In building it up, it has

ceaselessly maintained and strengthened the class character of the army, laid down its revolutionary tasks, given its officers and men a clear understanding of the aim to be achieved : to win independence for the people, to bring land to the tiller, to advance to socialism. It has built up our army into a people's army, an army of the toiling people, and essentially of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the working class' Party.

The Party has laid down the basic principles of building up our army politically. Those are principles of consolidating the Party's absolute leadership over the army, of establishing a regime of political work in the army, of educating officers and men in the spirit of proletarian ideology, of achieving unity within the army, unity between the army and the people, and international solidarity, of causing the disintegration of the enemy, of carrying out a regime of inner democracy combined with self-imposed strict discipline.

In the conditions of an economically backward country, our Party has successfully settled the questions of formation, organization, equipment, food supply, training, etc., thereby enabling our army to grow up progressively from weak guerilla units into a strong regular army.

During the process of leading the building up of the armed forces, our Party has relied on the warm participation of the entire people, carried out the arming of the entire people, and organized the regular army, the local army and the militia and guerillas. This is the organizational form of the armed forces of a people's war, at the same time, it is a great achievement

of the Party in building up the revolutionary armed forces.

The Party's correct leadership has made it possible for our army to score brilliant victories, to grow from a small and weak army into a big and strong one, and finally to defeat the invading troops of French imperialism helped by the U.S. interventionists. President Ho Chi Minh has said : " Our people is a heroic people, our army is a heroic army. If the Viet Nam People's Army has become a heroic army, this is thanks to the Party's leadership. "

Through many years of leading the people's armed struggle, our Party has achieved brilliant successes and gained extremely precious experiences.

These successes and experiences have pointed to a great truth : in the conditions of the present day world, once a people, however weak has risen up in unity to wage a resolute fight for independence and democracy under the correct leadership of the vanguard Party of the working class, it has enough moral and material strength to defeat any aggressor.

These successes and experiences teach us that in order to win victory, the armed struggle and the building up of the armed forces should be guided by a correct political line, armed struggle should serve the aims of political struggle. In effect, throughout the process of leading the armed struggle, our Party strictly stuck to the line of the national and democratic revolution, correctly combined the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, and, therefore, scored brilliant victories. At the same time, we clearly realize that " The

building and strengthening of the armed forces constitute one of the important conditions for the revolution in our country to defeat all aggressors, to safeguard and develop the fruits of the revolution."

In the lively practice of the national liberation struggle, our Party has come to define its correct line in the revolutionary armed struggle and the building up of the revolutionary armed forces: this is the line of the people's war and the people's army. The great significance of this line lies in the fact that our Party has applied in a wise and creative way the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the revolutionary war in a colonial and semi-feudal country as was ours. This is the source of all the Party's victories.

Comrades,

The historic Dien Bien Phu victory gloriously ended the period of armed struggle of our people, peace was restored, the Northern part of our country was completely liberated. Our people's revolutionary struggle entered a new stage.

The political report of the Central Committee has given a complete analysis of the national and international situation, and laid down the following revolutionary tasks for our people in the present period: "To strengthen national unity, to carry out a resolute fight to preserve peace, to push ahead the socialist revolution in the North, at the same time to push ahead the national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve National Unity on the basis of independence and democracy, to build up a peaceful,

unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam, to make a practical contribution to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the safeguarding of peace in South-east Asia and the world."

We should "carry out a resolute fight to preserve peace" because peace is the aspiration of our people in the whole country, because only the preservation of peace provides our people with favourable conditions to carry out socialist construction in the North, to push ahead the national democratic revolution in the South, and to march forward to the peaceful reunification of the country.

We should "carry out a resolute fight to preserve peace", because the struggle for peace has now become "a requirement of the broadest masses in all countries the world over". The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as "their first and foremost task".

While raising aloft the banner of peace, we constantly realize that although in the world the forces of peace are now stronger than those of war, the imperialists headed by the U.S.A., have not yet renounced their plans to prepare for a new war.

Our epoch is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has become a force stronger than ever in every field: political, economic, military, scientific and technical. The national liberation movement is rising high throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of workers, peasants and other progressive forces in capitalist countries is gaining momentum. The movement in defence of peace of progressive

people the world over is spreading widely and progressively isolating the forces of war. All these factors have brought about radical changes in the balance of forces between the socialist and the imperialist camps, in favour of peace, national independence and socialism. Imperialism is no longer the dominant force in the world. On the other hand, socialism has become an ever more decisive factor in world developments. "Mankind has now a real possibility of preventing war and preserving lasting peace."

The imperialists want to provoke a war, but they are encountering great difficulties and obstacles in the political and military fields. Their rear, constituted by former colonies, is disintegrating piece by piece, they cannot mobilize hundreds of millions of "native" people as cannon-fodder to safeguard their dirty interests as in World War II. They plot to use mass destruction weapon, to launch a blitzkrieg. But even in this field, the U.S. imperialists have also lagged behind the Soviet Union now. Therefore, if they were so mad as to kindle a war, progressive people the world over would oppose them, extremely powerful Soviet rockets would deal them deadly blows, and that day would sound the knell of imperialism.

Does this mean, however, that the danger of war no longer exists now ? Not at all. Now in the world, imperialism still remains in existence, and "so long as imperialism exists there are economic bases for wars. It is, therefore, necessary ceaselessly to heighten the people's vigilance and to be prepared to smash the dark plots of the imperialist warmongers". In fact, the imperialists headed by the U.S.A., despite their

growing weakness and deep inner contradictions, are carrying on the arms race, increasing defence spending, strengthening aggressive military alliances, building military bases everywhere, creating tension and actively preparing for war. When we say that there are increasing possibilities of avoiding war, this is due to the strengthening of the forces of peace, and not to some changes in the bellicose and aggressive nature of imperialism. Not being in a position to start a world war, the imperialists are making every attempt to provoke local wars and to undermine peace. The manoeuvres of S. E. A. T. O. and U.S. intervention in the southern part of our country and in Laos are part of the overall aggressive plans of imperialism,

In our country, the basic feature of the present situation is its temporary partition into two zones with different political and social regimes. The completely liberated North has entered the stage of socialist revolution. Socialist transformation is winning decisive successes, national economy is developing. The material and cultural living standards of the people are being raised. However, in north Vietnamese society, the class struggle is going on, reactionary elements who oppose socialism and remnants of the feudal landlord class still exist. They are always trying to collude with the spies, bandits and hirelings of the U.S. imperialists and Ngo Dinh Diem, and to take advantage of any lack of vigilance on our part to commit acts of sabotage. To ensure our people's peaceful work in the North, we should pay due heed to the consolidation of the people's democratic power, of which the armed forces are a very important component.

While the people in the North are enthusiastically building up their new life, the U.S. imperialists and their hireling Ngo Dinh Diem are ruling over the South. They have set up a fascist dictatorial political regime, they are ferociously oppressing and exploiting the people, using every barbarous means to suppress the patriotic movement of our compatriots there. They are openly sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, ceaselessly introducing reinforcements in military personnel and war materials into south Viet Nam, building up strategic roads and military bases, and actively preparing for an aggressive war.

Over recent years, despite all repressive measures, our compatriots in the South have ceaselessly developing their revolutionary struggle against the U.S. Diem regime, for peace, independence, democracy, and unity. Even in the ranks of the south Viet Nam army, there are many patriotic soldiers and officers who hate the U.S.- Diem clique. If some day the U.S. imperialists and their clique dared to launch an aggressive war against the North, all our compatriots in the South would certainly rise up as a single man to stop them, the patriotic soldiers and officers within the south Viet Nam army would turn their rifles against them. And on that day, the U.S.- Diem regime would certainly head for their doom. However, this is no reason why we should underestimate the enemy, and disregard their plots.

From the above analysis of the national and international situation, we come to the following conclusion : our people should strengthen their unity and strive to fight for the preservation of peace. At the same time,

they should constanly heighten their vigilance, and never lose sight of their task of fighting against the imperialist aggressors and warmongers and their lackeys, namely, the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem ruling clique, the enemies of our people; they should never lose sight of the task of fighting against the anti-revolutionary elements who are still carrying on their secret activities in north Vietnamese society. Any proneness to pacifism, any lack of vigilance are equally dangerous mistakes.

In such circumstances, the strengthening of national defence and building up of the people's armed forces are obviously an important task. We fully agree with the Central Committee's political report saying: "Our people's democratic power should pay constant heed to the task of strengthening national defence with the people's army as its core."

In fact, since the restoration of peace, our Party has paid constant heed to the task of strengthening national defence and building up the army. The 12th session of the Central Committee pointed out that this was "one of the essential tasks of the entire Party and of the entire people". It laid down the tasks of the people's army in the new stage as follows: "To safeguard the cause of consolidating and building up the North in its progressive advance to socialism, to defend the sovereignty, the territory and the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to serve as a prop to the struggle for the consolidation of peace, the reunification of the country, and the completion of independence and democracy all over the country, to be prepared to smash the aggressive plots of imperialism, especially the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys".

Thanks to the solicitude of the Party, and the participation and support of the people, the work of strengthening national defence and building up the army scored great achievements over the past few years. We should, however, recognize that these achievements have been limited to some extent, because within the Party and among the people, the importance of the task of strengthening national defence is not adequately understood. That is due to the fact that a number of our comrades do not yet realize the necessity of strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship which is in essence a proletarian dictatorship, throughout the period of transition. That is due to the fact that while speaking about our Party's policy of peaceful reunification, a number of our comrades are not fully aware of the plots of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys ; they do not understand that while our policy is to preserve peace and to achieve peaceful reunification, we should always be prepared to cope with any manoeuvre of the enemy. That is due to the fact that a number of our comrades have no all-sided understanding of the present world situation, they see only the possibility of winning a lasting peace and not the danger of war which still exists, they see only the growth of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, but they are not fully aware of the plots of imperialism, therefore, whenever the world situation becomes tense as was the case when the Summit Conference did not take place as a result of the U.S.A. wrecking it, they are a little more vigilant and anxious ; on the other hand, whenever the world situation shows some signs of relaxation or our

camp wins new victories such as successful shots of Soviet I.C. B.M., they are a little less vigilant, and a little more "pacifist".

We should criticize and eliminate the above incorrect understandings and thoughts, so that our Party and our people clearly realize the task of struggling to preserve peace, at the same time they should be constantly vigilant against all manœuvres of the enemy, and pay due heed to the task of strengthening national defence and building up the people's armed forces.

* * *

Since the restoration of peace, on the basis of the successes scored in building up the North in political, economic and cultural fields, our national defence has been decidedly strengthened.

In implementation of the new revolutionary tasks laid down by the Party, the people's army, together with the other people's armed forces has constantly heightened its vigilance, has made every effort to defend the security of the country, to maintain order and security, and to ensure the peaceful work of our people. It has taken an active part in carrying out propaganda among the people for increased production and made its contribution to the work of socialist transformation and socialist construction, and to the consolidation of the rear. It has fulfilled the tasks of a fighting army which is at the same time an army of workers, in peace as well as formerly, in the Resistance war.

The army has made an important step forward along the path of becoming a modern regular army. The socialist consciousness and the patriotism, as well as the tactical and technical standards of officers and men have been ceaselessly raised through political and military training drives. Our army's fighting power, has increased. Meanwhile, the guerilla forces and the self-defence corps have been developed in a rather extensive way.

In the years to come, the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan will bring about new successes for our people in all fields. Socialist transformation will be completed, the industrialization of the country will be carried out at a new tempo. The national economy will be more developed, new economic regions will take shape. Culture, education, science and technique will make new progress. The people's living conditions will be improved; the love of the country and of socialism will certainly be increased. Those are new favourable conditions for the continued strengthening of national defence and building up of the people's armed forces.

We should work out plans to strengthen the people's army, to consolidate and develop the militia and the self-defence corps, actively to coordinate economic construction with national defence, under the unified and centralized leadership of the Party.

1 — To build up a well-trained standing army, our Party has laid down the guiding principle of actively building up a strong people's army which is to become progressively a modern regular army. This is quite correct. In accordance with this guiding principle, we should strive to build up a well-trained

standing army, its effectives may be reduced but its qualities should be increased, and it should have a great fighting power.

Our army should first of all be a revolutionary army, faithful to the end to the cause of the socialist revolution in the North and the struggle for national reunification. It has already a good political nature, a tradition of boundless devotion to the Party and the people, is constantly maintaining close ties with the people, and fighting for the noble interests of the class and the people. Over the last few years, the socialist consciousness of its officers and men has been raised in a rather fundamental way, progress has been recorded in the field of class stand and ideology.

We should not indulge in self-complacency over these achievements. We should continue to pay much heed to maintaining and strengthening the revolutionary nature of the army, strengthening the Party's leadership and the regime of political work, regarding this as a task of prime importance. The revolutionary tasks and the political line laid down by the Third Party Congress should be made the basic contents of the political and ideological work in the entire army. At the same time, we should continue to teach the theory of Marxism-Leninism in a more systematic way. Only by doing so can we ensure that our army is really a sharp instrument and the most reliable force of the people's democratic dictatorship which is in essence a proletarian dictatorship.

At present, with the institution of the regime of military duties, hundreds of thousands of volunteer-fighters have been demobilized. Our army is almost

entirely made up of new recruits. They are a generation of youth full of force and with an ardent desire for progress who have grown up in the countryside now being transformed, or in factories and schools. They have good relations with the masses, they love the Fatherland, they love socialism, they are able to learn the new very quickly, but they have not yet been tempered and their political standards are rather low. This makes their political education all the more important. The army will develop its great effectiveness as a political and military school, it will attract the young workers, peasants and students, train them into good soldiers and good workers, then send them home to serve the rear.

Together with, and on the basis of the maintenance and strengthening of the army's revolutionary nature, we should push ahead its transformation into a modern regular army.

The modernization of the army is a most necessary work, amounting to a whole technical revolution requiring great efforts. At present, although the level of modernization of our army is still low, rather important progress has been made in comparison with its former backward equipment. Every company may already be regarded as a little and rather complex factory. Every infantry division has now a firing power equivalent to that of the entire firing power of our army during the Dien Bien Phu campaign. Thus the question of knowing how to use the equipment and to develop their effectiveness has now become a most urgent one. To consolidate the modernization of the army, we should work out a good solution to this

question. At the same time, we should ceaselessly improve the basis of equipment and technique of our army. The industrialization of the country will create for our army new favourable conditions.

The material and technical basis of the army has been strengthened, its organization has become complex with the existence of various arms. Therefore the need for unified and centralized command is becoming urgent. The transformation into a regular army is an imperative condition to develop the fighting power of a modern army.

In recent times we have applied various regular systems and regulations. We must affirm that these systems are correct, these regulations necessary. We must promote their strict implementation, thereby heightening the sense of discipline of our army. We oppose all manifestations of lack of Party leadership over the implementation of these systems and regulations, thus reducing the political content of the question of transformation into a regular army, at the same time, we resolutely fight manifestations of slighting these systems and regulations, discipline and regular ways of life.

To maintain and strengthen the revolutionary character of the army by regularization and modernization is a unified double aspect of the work of building the Army. The same is true of politics and technique. On the basis of the strengthening of the revolutionary character of the army, we must resolutely carry out the regularization and modernization of our Army step by step. It is necessary to promote the study and the mastering of technique, under the leadership of a correct political line.

The political report has stressed the importance of the training of a contingent of cadres for socialist construction in general. In the building of a regular and modern revolutionary army, the question of fostering and training cadres has also a decisive significance. A modern army unit is made up of many arms with modern equipment and technique, operating in extremely complex circumstances under the conditions of hard fighting between our army and the enemy. The command and leadership of such an army requires a contingent of cadres in sufficient number and of high quality, from the political as well as technical point of views.

That is why, on the basis of the correct implementation of the Party policy concerning the officers, and parallel with the constant raising of their political level the consolidation of their class stand and the promotion of their Marxist-Leninist theoretical knowledge, it is necessary to strive to raise the cultural level and the military technical level of the officers, so that each of them be "politically firm and professionally keen" and really become a good military cadre of the Party.

This is a key problem ; we must at all costs solve it in order to promote the building of the army.

2 — To consolidate and develop the militia, to build a powerful reserve.

Parallel with the building of a well-trained standing army, we must consolidate and develop the militia and build a powerful reserve.

The experience of the Resistance shows that to wage a popular war, we must arm the whole people. Beside the regular army, it is necessary to organize

local army and militia units. During the Resistance we paid especial attention to the development of militia and guerilla units, thereby mobilizing the whole people in the struggle against the aggressors. The militia detachments played an important role in the resistance to the enemy and the defence of their localities. Tempered in battled and revolutionary work, the militia has become an inexhaustible source of replenishment for the building and development of the army.

Today, under new circumstances, the consolidation of national defence still remains the task of the whole people ; the role of the militia forces, far from diminishing, remains very important. The militia is still a strategic force. On the other hand, now in peace time, given the necessity of concentrating our forces on economic construction, we cannot keep too big a standing army. Therefore, it is all the more necessary to build a powerful regular army reserve ready to be used to expand or replenish the standing army if necessary. The militia is the core of this regular army reserve. So the militia is both a source of replenishment for the standing army and an important fighting force in case of war ; it is also an instrument for protecting the people's democratic dictatorship, preserving public order and security in peace time.

At present, the organization of the militia is being promoted ; the masses of people, especially the youth, enthusiastically participate in the movement. We must further develop the movement, increase the quality of the militia in town and countryside. From the organizational point of view, it is necessary to grasp the class line of the Party, ensuring the purity of the ranks of

the militia made up of elements loyal to the people's power, and to socialism. As the requirements on the level of the militia are higher than before, we must have a plan to strengthen the political education and military training of the militia, at the same time we must bring into full play the fine traditions and precious experiences of the militia. The Party Committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the work of consolidating and developing the militia, building the reserve.

3 — To closely combine economic construction with the consolidation of national defence.

The political report of the Central Committee, while formulating the general line of the socialist revolution in the North and setting forth the tasks and directions of the First Five-Year Plan, has raised the problem of correctly solving the relations between economic construction and the consolidation of national defence.

Today, the economic construction in the North has become the central task of the Party. Therefore it is necessary to cut down defence budget, adequately reduce our army contingent so as to concentrate manpower and material in economic construction. This is a very correct policy. This does not in any way mean that our defence potentialities are to be weakened, because the more our economic forces develop, and the people's livelihood improves, the stronger is the foundation of national defence. In all respects, the consolidation of national defence, and the building of the army must pay due regard to the needs of the economic

construction and endeavour to practise economy and avoid waste.

On the other hand, in economic construction we must pay adequate attention to the consolidation of national defence. The state plan for economic construction must meet the material and technical requirements of the army, ensure that the army be ready to fight at any moment. Moreover, in every aspect of our work, in the development of industry, agriculture and communications and transport as well as in the stockpiling of materials and arrangement of industrial areas, we must foresee the eventuality of war and ensure the rapid transformation of our economy from peace-time production to war-time production.

To concentrate too much manpower and material power on national defence, thus adversely affecting our economic construction is a mistake. On the contrary, to concentrate only on economy and to neglect its combination with national defence, to neglect national defence is also a mistake. To deal correctly with the relations between economy and national defence, not only from the ideological point of view and main directions but also from the organizational point of view and concrete plans is a very important and urgent question. We must actively and earnestly solve it.

The consolidation of national defence and building of armed forces in the new stage is a very heavy task. This is not only a purely military problem but also a political, economic, scientific and technical problem. It demands active common efforts on the part of our

whole Party and people, and of all branches of the state power.

That is why to satisfactorily fulfil the above-mentioned task, the main thing is to make our whole Party grasp the importance of national defence, constantly educate and lead the people in taking part in the consolidation of national defence, building of armed forces, to closely combine all branches of work of the state power, above all, to combine the economic work with national defence, under the centralized leadership of the Central Committee and the local Party Committees.

Comrades,

Since the Second National Congress of the Party in the Viet Bac resistance base, our people have won big victories. The protracted War of Resistance has gloriously concluded with the victory of Dien Bien Phu. The land reform was successfully completed. The socialist revolution in the North has scored big achievements.

This Party Congress held in Hanoi capital is the Congress for the construction of socialism and the struggle for national reunification.

We are confident that the Party's tasks and political line set by the Congress will be a torch lighting the way for our people to advance toward new and bigger successes. These tasks and line will also be a compass for the consolidation of national defence, the building of armed forces in the new stage.

Since its creation, our People's Army has had the honour to fight under the glorious banner of the Party

and enjoyed the special care and education of the Party and President Ho. Thanks to this, our army has constantly grown and won glorious victories. All Party members, officers and men in the army are turning towards the Congress ; with inspiration and confidence, they promise to constantly unite around the Party, the Central Committee and President Ho, and make all out efforts to actively strive for the strict implementation of the historic resolutions of the Congress, and the fulfilment of all the tasks set them by the Party and people.

We wish the Congress great success.

**ON THE PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRATIC STATE**

by PHAM VAN DONG

Dear Comrades,

I fully agree with the political report of the Central Committee that comrade Le Duan has presented to the Congress. In the following, I wish to elaborate a few points on the State policy and on the foreign policy of our State.

Dear Comrades,

The Third National Congress of our Party opens at a time when the gay atmosphere of the 15th anniversary celebrations of our People's Democratic State is still reigning throughout our country. It is a good opportunity for us to review the maturity of our people's democratic State simultaneously with the revolutionary developments in our country; at the same time we are urged to pay attention to the further strengthening of the State, to enable it to fulfil its new tasks in the light of the Party's general line.

The essential point of the Revolution is the question of State power. It is a point which our teachers, Marx, Engels and Lenin used to stress. Lenin wrote that the transfer of power from one class to another is the first criterion, the essential one, the basic one of a revolution, in the true scientific meaning as well as in the political and practical meanings of the word revolution. When power has not yet been seized, to achieve revolution means to enlighten the masses, to organize

them, to lead them in overthrowing the power of the ruling classes, to seize power and put it into the hands of the people. After power has been seized, to achieve revolution means to organize and lead the masses to maintain, consolidate and develop this power, and use it as an instrument for transforming the old society and building a new one. While enduring a hard life under the yoke of oppression and exploitation of the ruling classes, the masses see their liberation in the breaking of the oppressive apparatus, overthrowing the whole reactionary State system from top to bottom. When power has been won, the masses strive to make use of the State apparatus to turn it into an instrument of their own to break any resistance from the enemy, to safeguard the results of the revolution, to develop economy and culture and to improve the people's life.

The history of our People's Democratic State is evidence of the above-mentioned truths. In autumn 1945, under our Party's leadership, the people throughout the country rose up to carry out the August Revolution, overthrew the colonial and feudal regime, and established the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Fifteen years after its founding, our Party became the ruling party, our people became the masters of their land, our first people's democratic State was established and it was also the first people's democratic State in a formerly colonial and semi-feudal country. This was a great victory of the Vietnamese Revolution of which our Party and our people can be proud.

The process of the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a process of constant development and consolidation of the people's democratic

State, simultaneously with the uninterrupted advance of the revolution, through the people's national democratic stage on to the socialist stage.

Immediately after the August revolution, within only a few months, under the leadership of our Party, our people speedily built up their State, with a National Assembly, a Government, elected organs, and administrative and technical organs at all levels, symbols of national independence and national sovereignty, expressions of the determination to safeguard the fruits of the revolution.

When the French colonialists staged a comeback to invade our country once more, the people's democratic State united the entire people, waged the Resistance war for national salvation and finally defeated the French colonialists, smashed the U.S. imperialists' plot to protract and extend the war, re-established peace throughout the country and completely liberated the North. Along with the Resistance, the people's democratic State carried out democratic reforms leading to land reform, wiping out the system of land ownership of the landlord class, putting into practice the slogan "land to the tiller", making important contributions to the victory of the Resistance and opening the way for the advance of our country.

After the victory of the Resistance, in the completely liberated North, the people's democratic State spared no efforts to heal the war wounds, completed the people's national democratic revolution, completed economic rehabilitation and, immediately after that, pushed forward socialist transformation and construction, gradually changing the face of the North,

bringing a rapid development in economy and culture, and definitely further improving the people's standards of living.

Nine years for the completion of the people's national democratic revolution and six years of socialist revolution in the North have brought to the fore the great role of the people's democratic State under the Party's leadership. They were at the same time fifteen years of unceasing trials for and steeling of the State. From a power still in its infancy, it stepped into the greatest trial facing any power, namely, the long and arduous Resistance. Our State has matured through the heroic Resistance of our people against the imperialist aggressors, through the resolute class struggle against the feudal class. After the re-establishment of peace, the Resistance power was changed into power building socialism in the North. Our State has grown strong in all spheres and striven to direct the work of transformation and construction, at the same time constantly raising high the banner of struggle for peaceful national reunification, and expanding our diplomatic activities, thereby raising the international position of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

While completing the national democratic revolution, the people's democratic State fulfils its historic task of worker-peasant dictatorship. Since the re-establishment of peace, the North has stepped into a transitional stage to socialism, and the people's democratic State is fulfilling its historic task of proletarian dictatorship. At present, when the socialist revolution in the North is about to enter a new stage of development in the light of the Party's general

line, when our people are about to complete the Three-Year Plan and are switching over to the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, the people's democratic State must be strengthened even more in order to fulfil the new and heavier tasks facing it.

The people's democratic State must be strong enough to smash all opposition and destructive activities of the reactionary forces in the country. The people's democratic State exercises dictatorship over obstinate exploiting elements who refuse to remould themselves, and over active counter-revolutionaries, hirelings of the imperialists; we must be extremely calm, always on our guard, and pitilessly suppress every activity of the U.S.-Diem clique's hirelings. Our State must resolutely carry out the above points to defend the regime and the people's democratic State, to safeguard the fruits of the Revolution and the people's peaceful labour.

The people's democratic State must be strong enough to defend effectively national independence and national sovereignty, ready to smash every act of provocation and aggression on the part of imperialism. In the present situation existing in our country, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are intensifying their military build-up and preparing war in the South of our country; they continually cause provocations on the frontiers and at the temporary demarcation line. Therefore we must always remain vigilant, strive to consolidate national defence, and actively build up our People's Army and other people's armed forces.

To exercise dictatorship over the people's enemy is a very important function of the people's democratic

State. However, it must be clearly realized that as well as that function and closely connected with it, we must highlight the State's functions of economic and cultural management, and the building of a new society and a new life. Lenin clearly pointed out that proletarian dictatorship does not only mean force against the exploiters, and does not essentially mean force at all. The economic base of that revolutionary force, the guarantee of its existence and its victory is precisely the fact that the proletarian class establishes and achieves a type of labour organisation of society higher than that of capitalism. Evidently, the essential function of the people's democratic State is to transform the old, to build the new, and to organize and manage the economic and cultural life of the society, securing a favourable advance and a quick rate of socialist transformation, and construction.

The people's democratic State uses its power, promotes the efficiency arising out of the eradication of non-socialist production relations, establishes socialist production relations, then continues to re-adjust and unceasingly improve the new production relations, raising them to a higher degree. The people's democratic State firmly holds in hand the ownership of society's essential means of production, of the society, relying on the socialist production relations to implement the rational and planned management of the whole national economy according to the economic laws of socialism, securing a balanced and rythmical development in keeping with the rapid growth of the various economic branches in order ceaselessly to improve the people's standard of living.

That is precisely the basic difference between a people's democratic State and a bourgeois State. A bourgeois State exercises a reactionary dictatorship by a minority, by the exploiters, keeps alive outdated production relations, holds back the forces of production, hampers the advance of the society and sows untold misery for the people. A people's democratic State exercises revolutionary dictatorship by the majority, by the working class, uniting all the labouring masses around it, aiming at transforming the old society, and opening the way to the development of production and building a new and happy life for everybody. It is common knowledge that socialism does not spring from nothing, it is the result of organized actions of the working people, directed and managed by the people's democratic State under the leadership of the Party of the working class.

In the present international situation, simultaneously with the growth of the socialist camp and with the distribution of labour, co-ordinating the socialist countries more and more closely in order to promote the potentialities of each country to the highest degree a function of increasing importance to the people's democratic State is economic co-operation and mutual aid between the brotherly socialist countries. The function of international co-operation is closely linked with the internal economic function, and these two functions exert a reciprocal influence on each other. The realities apparent over recent years have clearly shown that the internal improvement of economic management at home and the strengthening of our economic power means an increase in the potentialities

for international co-operation, and the development of international co-operation means increased power to push forward the national economy.

In the present situation of the temporary division of our country, the people's democratic State plays an extremely important role in the completion of the national democratic revolution in the whole country, leading to the peaceful reunification of the country. Fifteen years ago, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was established throughout the whole of Viet Nam, from Lang Son to the Ca Mau point, thanks to our people's unity and struggle. Our compatriots in the South were with the people of the whole country to carry out the August revolution and establish people's power; they heroically fought in the Resistance war to defend this power, the symbol of national independence and the right of all the people, and fought to safeguard the fruits of the August revolution and of the Resistance. Our compatriots in the South will never forget the years they lived under the people's democratic regime. Nowadays, the more savage and oppressive the U.S.-Diem regime, the more profoundly our compatriots think of the fine, admirable system of former times, the more do they look towards the North, towards the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Nowadays, in the eyes of the people of the whole country, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is raising aloft the banner of struggle for the sacred interests of the nation: peacefully to reunify the country on the basis of independence and democracy. To strengthen the people's democratic State means to strengthen the forces of the North, to strengthen the forces having the most

decisive effect on national reunification and on the development of the revolution throughout the country.

The Party's general line highlights the class character of the people's democratic State, stressing the essential function of the State, namely, the carrying out of the transformation of the old society and the building of a new. This line clearly points out the whole historic task of the State in the socialist revolution in the North: "People's democratic power must be used in carrying out the historic tasks of proletarian dictatorship, to implement the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce in order to develop the State economic sector and carry out socialist industrialisation by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry, at the same time striving to develop agriculture and light industry; it must be used to push forward the ideological, cultural and technical revolution, to transform our country into a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, advanced science and culture, to building a new life in the North and consolidate the North, to make it a strong and firm base for the peaceful reunification of our country, thereby contributing to the strengthening of the socialist camp and safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and in the world."

The implementation of the Party's general line and the First Five-Year Plan to complete the socialist transformation and push forward the building of socialism, requires from our Party, our State and our people newer efforts and new abilities. The people's

democratic State must grow to the rhythm of the developing requirements of the revolutionary tasks.

Alongside the economic and political changes in the North, the role of our people as the country's masters is becoming clearer, they are asking for broader participation in the State management and more effective participation in State organs, and are giving proof of better standards and greater abilities for so doing. The people's democratic State must strive to satisfy those basic requirements of the people.

The new Constitution of our country clearly points out the duties and rights of the citizens, the authority and responsibility of various State organs. The stipulations of the Constitution must be correctly followed to consolidate and strengthen our people's democratic power.

To strengthen our State correctly and effectively, the first requirement is to clarify resolutely and rapidly every misunderstanding about the State ; the Party and the entire people must thoroughly grasp the Marxist-Leninist conception of the State.

The political report of the Central Committee clearly states that the people's democratic State is the essential instrument of the revolution in building a new society. Every one must cross-examine himself to see to what extent he has correctly understood the question of the State, to see whether he has thoroughly grasped that conception in all his activities.

It must be admitted that a number of comrades have not fully realized the role of the State, do not know how to promote the usefulness of the State, and do not know how to make use of the State authorities.

This is a case of having a sharp weapon in one's hands and yet not knowing how to use it. There are times where this state of things becomes worse. A number of comrades even allow themselves to indulge in such wrong and dangerous ideas as to consider the State and its laws and regulations as a burden, an annoyance and troublesome tie. With such errors in understanding no adequate efforts can be made to strengthen the State, and no adequate efforts can be made to strengthen Party leadership of the State.

Where such a wrong understanding prevails there are two deviations in work: first, the Party does everything, does the work of the State, resulting in the fact that the most important work of the Party, the leadership of the State, is under-estimated and is not fully carried out, while State organs are not properly made use of. Beside this deviation, there have been signs of looseness in Party leadership, giving no guidance to the State organs, sometimes letting them display wrong initiative and make mistakes, or adopt policies completely opposed to those of the Party.

To relax leadership over the State is a great mistake for a Party in power, a mistake which could lead to erroneous policies and actions dangerous to the State. To take every task great or small upon oneself is not to lead, but merely to hamper the promotion of the role of the State organs in carrying out their functions.

Now, more than ever, the whole Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, must carry on a resolute struggle against the wrong conceptions and actions cited above in order to strengthen our people's

democratic State. This point was clearly expounded in the report on the revision of the Party constitution presented by comrade Le Duc Tho.

To strengthen State power means to strengthen the political and social basis of the State, to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, to strengthen the alliance between workers, peasants, intellectuals and other toiling people, and to strengthen national unity.

In the years to come, we will complete socialist transformation. The economy in the North at present composed of many sectors, will in future become uniform and socialist, and on that basis, society in the North will become more and more uniform, ideology will gradually become uniform, and unity and single-mindedness will be greater. Thus the political basis of the State will be firmer and stronger. At the same time, economic and cultural development, industrial and agricultural development, and the carrying out of socialist industrialisation, mean the increase of the material strength of the State.

Under our system, the strength of the State is the strength of the people. That is why the ties between the State and the people must be tightened, democracy must be promoted and democratic ways of life must be broadened, the people must be mobilised to take part in State management and in discussions on important problems of national interest. Opportunities must be created to help every citizen to take part in discussing and deciding all matters concerning the State and the people, thus enabling even the housewife to acquire the ability of State management, as Lenin said. The people are the masters of the country and masters of

their own life, essentially through participation in State management on a national scale as well as in each locality and in each enterprise. Our State, a people's democratic State, is genuinely democratic, "a million times more democratic" than bourgeois democracy, which is formal democracy, and deceptive democracy, until the day it can no longer deceive, and no longer hide behind that form, then the ruling clique will shake off its deceptive cloak and ruthlessly repress the people.

Our State is genuinely democratic since it truly belongs to the people, and since its historic task is to mobilise the people's strength to build a new society, a new life, a new people. The process of development of the State is the process of the people's participation in the management of the State, the economy, and the management of their life. The more effective the masses' participation in State management, the stronger the State becomes, and to that extent, the heavy burden of the State will be lightened. For the State organs, the promotion of democracy is the best way to fight against subjectivism, bureaucracy and commandism.

In the light of the truths and conceptions described above, we come to the realistic policies: to strengthen the power of the State is to strengthen the organisations and activities of the State according to the clauses and the spirit of the Constitution, the basic law of the State. Of special importance are the organisations and activities of the elected organs, the organs of State power, the highest of which is the National Assembly, and the People's Councils which are local organs of State power. To be in touch with the people,

and mobilise them to take part in State management is mainly carried out through the organisations and activities of those organs. It must be realised that with regard to the elected organs, at present our understanding and actions show shortcomings, particularly in the localities. We have not yet adequately stressed the role of the elected bodies, we do not yet pay adequate attention to intensifying their activities, nor have we organised regular and comprehensive meetings of the People's councils, and more especially, there have been no guarantees as to the genuine participation of the People's Councils in discussing and taking decisions on the most important issues pertaining to the localities. We must endeavour resolutely, in an organised and planned way, to put right our present shortcomings, so as to fully promote the important and active role of the elected organs from the top downward.

To strengthen State power means to strengthen the State machine, the organs dealing with economic and cultural management, national defence, and home and foreign affairs. At present, particular stress must be laid on the necessity to strengthen the organs of economic management, because these are the most important parts of the people's democratic State machine, and also because at present these organs are still weak and do not yet meet the requirements of the situation. At the same time, importance must be attached to the strengthening of organs dealing with internal policy such as : home affairs, police, tribunals, the public prosecution board, and the people's control board, because these are extremely important organs, entrusted with the task of ensuring the observance of

socialist laws, defending the interests of the State and the people, punishing those who violate the laws, and repressing any activity aimed at destroying our people's revolution.

To strengthen the State machine means to strengthen the organisation, to keep firm hold of the principles of democratic centralism and of the division of responsibility for management at different levels. On the basis of securing a unified and close leadership of the Party Central Committee, the responsibility of each branch and level must be clearly defined, boldly conferring responsibilities, rights and means on the localities, developing their activity and creativeness. The strengthening of organisation must go hand in hand with an increase in the number of cadres and in their qualifications, unceasingly raising their ideological, political, cultural, technical and professional levels to enable them to meet the requirements of the revolutionary tasks.

To strengthen the people's democratic State means to strengthen the socialist rule of law. Under our regime, laws reflect the policies of the Party, and are the will of the people. Reflecting the line and policies of the Party, and the people's will, laws are sharp weapons for repressing the enemies of the people, for carrying out socialist transformation, and building socialism and a new life. Those who mistake the Party for the State and vice versa, do not realise this aspect of the State. Bringing about a revolution is aimed at the capture of power, at the establishment of a State of one's own, and at making use of this State to enforce laws,

decrees and other rules and regulations which bind everybody, and which everybody must abide by.

The working class cannot transform the old society and build a new, if it does not build up and strengthen its State, if it does not use its State to the utmost. With a correct and profound understanding of the essence and role of the laws, we must attach great importance to legislation, gradually building a socialist legislature. At the same time, efforts must be made to educate the people to observe the laws and severely punish all transgressions thereof. The Party members must be the first to set the example in the observance of State laws, as is clearly stated in the Party constitution. An extremely important matter is to heighten State discipline in State organs, to heighten the sense of responsibility in the fulfilment of duties, and to heighten the spirit of strict obedience and implementation of all instructions from above.

In order to strengthen the people's democratic State in that direction we must strengthen the Party leadership of the State in the political, ideological and organisational spheres, and tighten the relations between the Party and the State. To strengthen the Party leadership of the State does not mean that the Party will do all the work of the State, thereby minimizing the role of the State. On the contrary, the Party leadership of the State aims precisely at raising the position, prestige and influence of the State, and strengthening it, in brief, helping the State to fulfil its historic mission.

Dear Comrades,

Our Party's fundamental appraisal of the present international situation and its important decisions on foreign policy have been fully expounded in the opening speech of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, and in the political report of the Party Central Committee. Below, I wish to lay stress on a few points.

Dear Comrades,

Our country is a South-east Asian member of the socialist camp. Our people are making efforts in the struggle for socialist construction in the North, for the achievement of the national democratic revolution in the whole country, and for peaceful re-unification of the Fatherland.

The foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam aims at serving the Vietnamese revolution, and at the same time at contributing our share to the revolution of the peoples the world over. The main content of that policy is to contribute to the strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp led by the great Soviet Union, tighten the friendly relations with countries having an independent national policy, and wholeheartedly support all movements of national liberation ; to carry out the above-mentioned policy is to struggle against aggressive and warmongering imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, in order to safeguard and consolidate world peace. The ever growing strength of the socialist forces in our country as well as in the world is a guarantee of the favourable and satisfactory implementation of our foreign policy.

Our socialist camp led by the mighty Soviet Union, with the great People's Republic of China by their side, is now stronger than ever and is rapidly growing mightier day by day.

Our socialist camp, wide and great, stretching from South-east Europe to South-east Asia, from the Elbe to the Pacific coast, comprises 1,000 million people, is united as one man and struggles under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism for the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the world, namely for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Under the Party leadership, our people are determined to strengthen further this fraternal friendship and single-minded unity, cooperation and mutual aid between our country and the socialist countries, thus contributing to strengthening the forces of the socialist camp.

Our people greatly rejoice at the immense achievements of the Soviet Union in the building of communism, at the extremely brilliant achievements of the Soviet Union in the sphere of science and technique. The October Revolution has shed light on the revolutionary path for the working class and oppressed peoples all over the world. During World War II the Soviet Union saved mankind from the yoke of fascism, creating conditions for the formation of a world socialist system; the Soviet Union has always devotedly helped the brother socialist countries in economic and cultural development, and in the building of a new life; the Soviet Union is the most resolute and effective supporter of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their liberation, and for the consolidation of their

national independence ; the Soviet Union is the heroic and tenacious fighter for world peace, against aggressive and warmongering imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. The great Soviet Union is worthily heading the socialist camp.

Our people are extremely happy at the rapid growth of the People's Republic of China, a world power with 650 million people, enjoying a prestige which is becoming constantly greater the world over, particularly among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since its founding, the People's Republic of China has made a great contribution to the strengthening of the socialist forces, to impelling forward the movement for national liberation, to the valiant struggle against aggressive imperialism, for the defence of peace. The more the imperialist countries, U.S. imperialism in particular, adopt an attitude hostile to the People's Republic of China, the more we, the brother socialist countries and the peoples the world over, are determined to support the great Chinese people, and be resolute in demanding a rightful place for the People's Republic of China in the international arena.

Our people greatly rejoice at the glorious successes of other socialist countries. Several countries have completed the socialist transformation; other countries have completed or are completing socialist construction and are on the way to communism.

In the years to come the countries in our great socialist camp will take giant strides forward in the building of socialism and communism, and will have

an extremely wide and deep influence on world trends and the history of mankind.

The ever-growing strength of the mighty socialist camp in every field is a source of enthusiasm and encouragement, the cause of every success of our people and of the peoples of the world.

At this Congress we have already heard the voices of the brother Parties regarding the deep friendship between the socialist countries and our country, between the brother Parties and our Party; we have heard about the endeavours and contributions of our Party to tighten the friendly relations between the socialist countries and the consolidation of the single-minded unity between the Communist Parties and the Workers' Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

These warm hearted voices encourage us constantly to strive to contribute our share to this great work, that is further to strengthen the single-minded unity between the Communist Parties and the Workers' Parties, further strengthen the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the socialist countries, and further to strengthen the powerful forces of indomitable socialism — forces having a decisive effect on the revolutionary struggle of the world's people against imperialism, in order to win further great victories for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism all over the world.

Our Party, led by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, will do its utmost with all its zeal, to fulfil that lofty task, and is confident that Marxism-Leninism and mighty proletarian internationalism will be victorious.

Dear Comrades,

By its geographical situation, Viet Nam is close to the Asian-African countries. Throughout their history, the Vietnamese people have had long-standing relations with many nations in South-east Asia. The process of struggle of our people is the process of struggle of an oppressed people fighting against aggressive imperialism, and the present struggle for the liberation of south Viet Nam is part and parcel of the movement for national liberation all over the world. Our sacred Resistance war was a contribution to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. The August Revolution and the Dien Bien Phu victory are not only great victories for our people, but are also the common victories of the peoples fighting for freedom. President Ho Chi Minh, the leader of our people, is a fighter against aggressive imperialism for national independence. He is loved and venerated by the Asian and African peoples. At present, in the completely liberated North, our people are enthusiastically building a new life and are scoring brilliant achievements in economy and culture. These achievements prove the correctness of the policy and the great potentialities of a nation after independence has been won, and after she becomes the master of her own destiny. In the Resistance war as well as in peace our people have won the sympathy and confidence of the Asian and African peoples and other oppressed countries. In such conditions we have the responsibility and possibility to tighten further our friendship with the peoples in Asia and Africa, and can lend stronger support to the national liberation movement in the world.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has never ceased to develop friendly relations with the nationalist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. In the world today, the countries with an independent national policy have become a great force with their foreign policy of peace and neutrality, and are playing an important role in international activities. They cooperate with the socialist countries in the struggle for world peace, relying more and more on the disinterested aid of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries to consolidate their independence, build and develop their economy, and raise the people's standard of living. In recent years, a great number of African countries have won their independence. We are happy to welcome these countries who are joining the ranks of independent nations in the world, and are continuing their struggle against aggressive imperialism, especially against the U.S. imperialists, in order to safeguard independence and defend peace. We are confident that the friendly relations between these countries and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will be developed satisfactorily. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Guinea and our sending of an ambassador to Conakry mark important progress, paving the way for friendly relations between our country and the African countries. We pay particular attention to the friendly relations between our country and our neighbours. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has always wished to establish friendly relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for the

five principles of peaceful coexistence, and for the Geneva Agreements. We rejoice at the development of relations between our country and Cambodia. We welcome and support the policy of peace and neutrality of Cambodia under the leadership of her Head of the State, Norodom Sihanouk. We are prepared to establish friendly relations with the Kingdom of Laos, provided the Royal government carries out a genuine policy of peace and neutrality, and respects the Geneva Agreements and the Vientiane Agreements. The patriotic movement opposing U.S. interference constitutes a new victory for the national liberation movement now in progress everywhere, and a shameful failure of the U.S. imperialists.

Our era is the era of the disintegration of the colonialist system. All over the world the national liberation movement is developing with irresistible strength, at a rapid rate, on an immense scale hitherto unknown. At present the African peoples have risen and are rising to struggle for the destruction of the last stronghold of colonialism there. Even Latin America, which the imperialists considered as their most secure rear, is now smouldering and struggling against U.S. imperialism and dictatorial regimes, tools of the U.S. The struggle for national liberation throughout the world is of an extremely great significance ; not only does it drive back, limit and gradually throw out imperialism, but it also constitutes an important contribution to world peace. The Vietnamese people are the faithful comrades-in-arms of the peoples who are fighting for national independence. We will never forget the sympathy and support that the oppressed

peoples lent us during our Resistance war, and are still lending us during our present struggle for national reunification. The Vietnamese people have been consistent in their support of the just struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, against colonial oppression and against the aggressive plots of the imperialists. The Vietnamese people have recognised the Provisional Government of Algeria and wholeheartedly support the heroic struggle of the Algerian people till final victory. The Vietnamese people are determined to support the Congolese people struggling against the aggressive plots and the plots to divide the Congo, hatched by the imperialists and their hirelings. In Latin America, the Cuban people are raising high the banner of national independence and are resolute in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, constituting a brilliant example for the other Latin American peoples.

The Vietnamese people are deeply convinced that the national liberation movement in the world today aided by the mighty socialist camp, will certainly be completely victorious, advancing toward the total eradication of colonialism from the world, defeating aggressive imperialism, and contributing greatly to the safeguarding of world peace.

Dear Comrades,

The above points on international unity and on the foreign policy of our Party and our State, all have an influence on strengthening the forces fighting against aggressive and warmongering imperialism, for

the defence of peace. Availing ourselves of this opportunity, we wish to reiterate our support for the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, and for the Soviet Union's policies on the general and total disarmament, on their demand for the abolition of all military bases in foreign lands, and on their demand for the prohibition of the stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. We agree with and support the proposals of the Chinese People's Republic on the signing of a peace treaty of non-aggression and on the establishment of an atom free area in Asia and in the Pacific.

The history of the past fifteen years in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam clearly proves that we have been consistent in the pursuit of a peace policy.

Today our peace policy is evident in our attitude to the Geneva Agreements. That attitude is one of respect for the Geneva Agreements; on our part we are strictly implementing the Geneva Agreements and demand that all parties concerned also strictly implement them. It must be recalled that it is we who signed the Geneva Agreement on Viet Nam and the Geneva Agreement on Laos. It is our responsibility and in our interest to struggle for the defence of these international agreements.

Dear Comrades,

The Party general line and the Five-Year Plan will open new prospects and bring new victories to our people.

It is certain that our people's democratic State, under the leadership of the Party will grow still

stronger, will fulfil the heavy and glorious tasks of the State internally, as well as externally, in the process of revolutionary struggle for socialist construction in the North, for the completion of the national democratic revolution throughout the country, and for peaceful reunification of the country. This will make of Viet Nam a peaceful, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong country, contributing to the strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp and to the safeguarding of peace in South-east Asia and in the world.

**STRENGTHENING THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-
REVOLUTIONARIES.**

by TRAN QUOC HOAN

Dear Comrades,

I am in complete agreement with the political report and the report on revision of the Party's Constitution, made by the Party Central Committee.

Now, allow me to deal with a number of questions concerning the struggle against counter-revolutionaries in the northern part of our country.

This Third National Party Congress sets forth for the entire Party and people the line to carry out socialist revolution in the North, complete the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country, and struggle for national reunification; at the same time it works out fundamental directions for the building of the Party and strengthening of its leadership to be adequate to the new requirements of the revolution. It also decides the tasks and directions for the First Five-Year Plan (1961-65).

On the basis of the analysis of the class struggle between the capitalist and socialist paths in the North, the Central Committee has pointed out in its political report "to secure victory for socialist revolution and national reunification, to guarantee the interest of the toiling people and to ensure order and security, the people's democratic State must, relying on the people's support, implement dictatorship against counter-revolutionaries, severely punish those who sabotage socialist transformation and construction, and the struggle for

national reunification." The raising of this question is very necessary and is prompted by the practice of the revolution in our country.

True, over the past fifteen years, imperialist spies and counter-revolutionaries have ceaselessly carried out destructive activities to sabotage our people's revolution. These frenzied activities, following the successful August Revolution, were aimed at strangling our new-born revolutionary power; were feverish throughout the Resistance war in an attempt to defeat it. But their criminal schemes and acts were doomed to ignominious failure.

Since the restoration of peace the counter-revolutionary forces have been uninterruptedly carrying on their activities to destroy the construction and consolidation of the North. Hence the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries has become more complicated due to the following new conditions :

a) Although the enemy had to withdraw his troops and open forces from the North to the South, secretly he has left behind his henchmen with all means of information and sabotage (radio sets, arms, etc.).

b) Our country is temporarily divided into two zones, and the northern zone constitutes an outpost of the socialist camp in South-east Asia, therefore the imperialist countries, especially the U.S.A. and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique attach great importance to destroying the North.

c) Since the restoration of peace, the North has entered the transitional period to socialism, has gradually abolished the exploiting classes, and transformed non-socialist economic sectors. Although the socialist

transformation in the North has many favourable conditions, it still remains a hard and intricate class struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in economic, political, cultural and ideological fields. In this class struggle it is natural that the counter-revolutionaries, enemy of the socialist regime, offer opposition.

The counter-revolutionary forces in the North include spies of imperialist countries (the most dangerous ones are those of the U.S.A.-Ngo Dinh Diem), reactionaries who misuse the Catholic religion, and reactionary elements among the exploiting classes. In the main their activities are chiefly collecting information related to all fields of our activity in order to assess our strength, creating underground bases in the North for psychological warfare to sow confusion among the masses, sabotage our Party's and Government's policies and various important works in military, economic, political, cultural and ideological spheres; sabotaging the material bases of socialism, the organisations of the Party, Army and Government, murdering cadres, fomenting disturbances, etc. All their activities are directed at hindering socialist construction in the North, and, at the same time, serving their scheme of subversion and war with a view to invading the North and attacking the socialist camp.

In moments of difficulty or when our cadres slacken their vigilance or hesitate in their struggle, the counter-revolutionaries frenziedly increase their activities. The U.S.A.-Diem spies always try by all means to make use of the anti-socialist forces, especially the reactionary elements among the exploiting classes, and

among the former puppet soldiers and officials who are now living in the North; vice versa these reactionary elements also try by all means to ally themselves with the U.S.A.-Diem spies so as to have strength in their counter-revolutionary struggle. The spies and other counter-revolutionaries usually avail themselves of every shortcoming or error of our cadres in their work, to stimulate the backward masses against the revolution. In this respect, the reactionaries, misusing the Catholic religion in particular, often rely upon mysticism, deceive and exhort the Catholic masses to carry out destructive actions. Besides acting openly and brazenly the spies usually conceal their destructive activities in a subtle, wily and cruel manner. Therefore, if a thorough investigation and study is not undertaken, we shall confuse the enemy's sabotaging activities with the injurious actions done by a number of backward elements of the masses.

That is precisely the reason why our struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, first of all against the U.S.A.-Diem spies, is a stubborn, fierce, intricate and long-term struggle. It is an important part of the whole class struggle between the socialist path and capitalist path.

Comrades,

Since we succeeded in winning back power, our Party has guided the people to carry on the resolute struggle against counter-revolutionary forces in order to safeguard the revolutionary achievements and the people's interests.

In leading this struggle our Party has correctly applied the Marxist-Leninist principles on the State and proletarian dictatorship to the practice of the Vietnamese revolution. Time and again Lenin said that we must use violence in our all-out repression of every counter-revolutionary scheme... He stressed that the proletarian class cannot triumph... if it does not resort to violence to repress its enemy... In his historic directive written in 1919 entitled "Let us be vigilant toward the spies", Lenin said: "Everywhere we must double our vigilance, think hard over and strictly apply all necessary measures to discover the spies and white guards who are plotting to rebel and then we shall be able to capture them. All conscious workers and peasants must turn themselves into a strong fort to safeguard the Soviet power; they must fight against the spies and white guards".

Our Party has creatively and correctly applied the above-mentioned directives in guiding the struggle against counter-revolutionaries in our country, and this very guidance is the main factor of the successes achieved in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries. In many resolutions and directives, our Party Central Committee has, besides stressing the important significance of the repression of counter-revolutionaries, also based itself on the actual political situation of each period and each place to work out adequate tasks, lines of action, policies and tactics of struggle against each kind of counter-revolutionary.

Immediately after the capture of power, the Party led the people resolutely to repress the Vietnamese traitors, and expose the lackeys of Chiang Kai-shek,

thus contributing to the defence of the new-born revolutionary government, and removing some obstacles and difficulties before it embarked on the long-term Resistance war.

Throughout the Resistance war the Party led the people to suppress enemy commandoes, wipe out bandits, punish the Vietnamese traitors who opposed the Resistance, thereby succeeding in defending the resistance bases and free areas, protecting the preparations for military campaigns, serving the frontline, protecting guerilla bases in the enemy occupied areas.

Since the restoration of peace, the Party has led the people resolutely to fight against counter-revolutionary activities, liberate areas still occupied by bandits, struggle against the enemy's forcible transfer of people to the South, check disturbances, and punish several important groups of spies and disband important counter-revolutionary organisations. It has mobilised the masses to repress the counter-revolutionary elements in areas where enemy activities had hindered the implementation of the Government's policies. It has started transforming with success the social bases which the counter-revolutionaries had often utilised, has mobilised the masses to participate in the movement for the maintenance of order and security. The victories over the counter-revolutionaries have contributed a fundamental part to the stabilisation of the political situation in the North, and created favourable conditions for socialist transformation and socialist construction in recent years. The political situation in the North in the past few years has been stabilised markedly.

If the struggle against counter-revolutionaries waged throughout the last fifteen years has scored great achievements, it is precisely thanks to the Party's leadership. Naturally it is not that in carrying out our works we do not commit shortcomings. In practice, due to the fact that we did not yet firmly grasp the line of action and policies of the Party Central Committee, there happened in some localities a number of shortcomings which consisted in letting the enemy escape or not appropriately punishing the die-hard counter-revolutionaries. At the same time a number of mistakes and shortcomings were committed in the fight against the enemy during land reform and organisational readjustment. For the struggle against underground counter-revolutionaries, though mistakes and shortcomings are difficult to be avoided completely, when our Party discovers them, it is resolute to lead their correction ; hence it can firmly secure the victory of the fight against the enemy. During the fifteen years of struggle against counter-revolutionaries, we have drawn a number of main experiences :

The first lesson concerns the guiding principles of ideological leadership, in the struggle against counter-revolution.

The struggle against counter-revolution is a fierce class struggle, a do-or-die struggle, it is a struggle against the underground activities of a cunning and wicked enemy. Its really violent nature is not always apparent. At times, the situation is outwardly quiet, but in fact it is at such times that the spies and counter-revolutionaries are actively and secretly carrying

out their schemes. This is precisely the main characteristic of the struggle. Owing to this characteristic cadres and masses may easily fail to have a correct conception of the situation. Usually when enemy activities remain undiscovered, rightist manifestations easily occur (lack of vigilance, hesitation, etc.). On the other hand, when counter-revolutionary activities are overestimated, leftist deviations easily occur (too much importance being attached to the struggle, etc.). Rightist and leftist mistakes are usually intermeshed with one another or follow one another. In the process of struggle at different places and times, rightist mistakes are more obvious than leftist mistakes or vice-versa. That is why the key for ensuring steady progress for the struggle, is closely to control and follow the situation, and timely to fight, assess and correct the rightist or leftist deviations. At present there still remains a number of shortcomings in the minds of many cadres : their sense of permanent vigilance is still weak, their patience and determination still insufficient in the struggle against the enemy, and hesitation is still noticeable in some places. The root cause of all these shortcomings is that the cadres have not yet grasped the essential and urgent significance of the repression of counter-revolution in the period of proletarian dictatorship ; the importance of the relation between carrying on the revolution and protecting its achievements ; between production and maintenance of production ; and that they have not yet thoroughly realised the position of and conditions in the north of our country in the process of socialist revolution. Nor have they fully seen through the U.S. - Diem clique's wicked

schemes, and realised the responsibility of a Party member, a cadre and a citizen in the safeguarding of the revolutionary achievements and the Fatherland. But in some places, due to the fact that cadres are not yet sufficiently trained and their guidance not yet adequate, leftist manifestations have occurred and insufficient attention has been paid to the Party's policies and tactics during the struggle.

That is why in the political report of the Party Central Committee, it has been correctly pointed out : "Signs of lack of vigilance and of leftism still exist. We must endeavour to overcome this situation, further strengthen the maintenance of order and security, and at the same time we must prevent leftist tendencies which consist in failure to appreciate entirely the intricate and lasting character of the repression of counter-revolutionaries."

In order correctly to lead the struggle against rightist and leftist deviations, the Party Central Committee has worked out the following principle for the struggle against counter-revolution : "To raise vigilance, not to let an enemy escape ; to prevent deviations, not to punish anyone unjustly." This principle embodies a determined stand and severity against the enemy, and at the same time a sense of responsibility and caution as regards the people.

In implementing the foregoing principles, the important question is to make a clear-cut distinction between counter-revolutionary activities and backwardness on the part of the masses, that is to say, clearly to draw the dividing line between various policies (to

distinguish counter-revolutionaries from non-counter-revolutionaries, the guilty from the innocent, clearly to define the objectives of attack, etc.) and give thorough training on the procedures and powers of arrest and prosecution.

In order thoroughly to grasp the spirit of determination and cautiousness of the above-mentioned principles, clearly to make out the dividing line between our enemy and us, we must, as our experience has taught us, lay stress on the work of investigation and study. Investigation and study is the basis on which to decide policies and implement all Party work. It is important with regard to all tasks, but it is all the more so with regard to the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, because the latter carry out cunning underground activities behind disguise and in concealment. If investigation and examination are not effective, not only are we unable to discover the underground enemy, but we are unable furthermore, even if we can discover them, to seize precise proofs which will clearly bring to light the nature of the case for correct judgment. If investigation and examination are not effective, the enemy can escape or else honest people may even be wrongly attacked, thus causing harm to the revolution.

The second lesson concerns the policy of repression of the counter-revolutionaries, that is to say "the policy of combining repression with generosity, punishment with education and transformation". In the process of struggle, our Party has pointed out the common policy in the fight against the enemy, which is "Repression combined with generosity." In practice,

we must be "severe with the instigators and executioners (the die-hards who are determined to oppose us); generous with those who sincerely repent or were coerced, or those who have gone astray or have been bought over; alleviate the punishment of or exonerate those who have done useful deeds, and reward those who have done important deeds. With regard to those who, of their own free will, sincerely confess their crimes, the Government's policy is to be generous to them to a greater or lesser degree, according to the extent of their guilt.

We put forth this policy on the basis, first of all, of the practical situation of the counter-revolutionaries. Their ranks are divided into different kinds: some are reactionary to the utmost degree; they have committed many crimes, and are stubborn to the end; others are not very dangerous, their crimes are not very serious; when strongly repressed they are easily thrown into confusion and easily surrender to us. Others are coerced or deceived into joining counter-revolutionary organisations their guilt is not great, they easily repent and sincerely confess their misdeeds.

The foregoing general policies are aimed at differentiating among the enemy to the utmost, totally isolating and strongly attacking the instigators and their agents, the die-hards in opposition to the revolution and the people. They are at the same time aimed at winning over those who are coerced or deceived into going astray. Our policy is to disintegrate their organisations. In practice, experience has entirely proved the correctness of these policies.

Naturally, the ultimate goal of our struggle is to wipe out the counter-revolutionaries and uproot them. This does not mean that we will destroy them physically, but mainly to act in such a way that counter-revolutionary activities will no longer exist.

To reach this goal, we must first of all timely and resolutely repress the active counter-revolutionaries. But on the other hand, we must endeavour to transform the counter-revolutionaries and the social bases that they can make use of. Therefore, the Party and Government have made the following point : "Coordinating punishment with education and transformation".

The active counter-revolutionaries must be purposefully repressed. But with regard to those who have been tried, are still in custody or under surveillance, and those who have been released and sent back to their villages, we must make efforts in compulsorily transforming them in the right direction, and make them abandon all their reactionary ideas to become honest, toiling people who follow the path of socialist revolution. This is also an expression of the human spirit of the revolution.

Besides, we must pay attention to transforming the social bases easily utilisable by the counter-revolutionaries. This transformation is aimed at reducing and advancing toward the abolition of the enemy's social bases, at transforming negative factors into positive factors for the sake of the revolution. In the work of transforming the social bases of the counter-revolutionaries, the Party lays emphasis on the methods of education, persuasion and explanation.

The third lesson concerns the line of work. "Leadership of the Party, reliance upon the masses."

The socialist revolution and construction must be guided by the Party. Consequently the struggle against counter-revolutionaries to safeguard the revolutionary achievements must be guided by it too. It is precisely this leadership which secures the objectives, and ensures a correct line of action and policies for the struggle against counter-revolutionaries.

The Party is the direct builder and leader of all instruments of dictatorship, the organiser and mobiliser of the forces of the whole Party and people for carrying on this struggle. It is precisely the Party's leadership which is the dominant factor in all successes in the struggle against counter-revolutionary forces.

Experience gained during the past few years has proved that if the fight against the enemy is independent of the Party's leadership, line of action and policies, not only does it fail to bring good results, but on the contrary, it leads to mistakes and deviations and causes harm to the revolution, and, as a result, we can neither attack the enemy nor protect ourselves.

The struggle against counter-revolutionaries must rely on the strength of the whole Party and people. Revolution is the work of the masses. The struggle against counter-revolutionaries to safeguard the revolutionary achievements is also their work. Drawing experience from the various mobilisation campaigns for the "protection of secrets and guarding against spies", and "three noes" during the Resistance war, we have, during the past few years, intensified the

mobilisation of the masses to take part in the movement for protecting security (guarding against evil-doers, fire and accidents) and have achieved marked success. The role of the masses is expressed all the more obviously when we concentrate our forces to repress the counter-revolutionaries in regions where counter-revolutionary activities have raised many obstacles for the implementation of the State's policies, and the neutralisation and transformation of the social bases which the enemy can use easily. Experience gained during the past few years has clearly proved that only by relying on the struggle of the masses can we successfully repress the enemy and at the same time avoid serious deviations. In order to bring into full play the role of the masses, the important question is to heighten vigilance and instil into each cadre and citizen the need to safeguard the revolution and the Fatherland. President Ho Chi Minh has given the following directive: " In order to check the enemy schemes, the cadres, army-men and people must always heighten their vigilance. This is an important duty every citizen must fulfil to foil the schemes of the imperialists and their henchmen, and to safeguard the people and the Fatherland. " The Party has constantly criticised and overcome wrong ideas which consist in not having confidence in the strength of the masses, and not daring to agitate among them on the ground that the struggle against counter-revolutionaries can be assumed only by specialised organs and not by the masses, with the idea that they are not able to fulfil the task. In practice, to carry out their activities the counter-revolutionaries must conceal themselves by

mingling with the masses, therefore once the latter's vigilance is heightened, they are certain to be discovered and brought to light.

But the Party also points out that to lay emphasis on the role of the masses does not mean to minimise the role of the specialised organs such as the People's Security Service, People's Organ of Control and People's Court. We have learned from experience that because the enemy acts secretly, and uses subtle techniques in their underground activities, our struggle against the counter-revolutionaries also requires a definite degree of professional and technical knowledge. Therefore, on the one hand we must actively promote the role of the masses, on the other we must strive to strengthen the professional work of specialised bodies. We must constantly consolidate and reinforce various branches of the People's Security Service, People's Organ of Control, and People's Court. In our work, we must constantly pay attention to coordinating the positive outlook of the masses with the professional work of specialised organs. We must not allow ourselves to give greater or lesser importance to either aspect. This is the correct mass line to be followed in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and in the maintaining of security.

Our Party has clearly pointed out that the repression of counter-revolutionaries must correctly follow the mass line, at the same time it must abide by the provisions of the Constitution and State laws. Under our regime, laws are implements designed to serve the Fatherland and the people's interests. Therefore the Party and the Government have always emphasised

that the struggle against counter-revolutionaries must abide by the State laws. If this is done correctly, not only can we attack the enemy with determination, but we can also avoid deviations and mistakes.

Comrades

After the completion of the Three-Year Plan (1958-1960), the revolution in the North of our country will advance a step further in the transitional period along the road to socialism. In implementing the Five-Year Plan (1961-1965) our entire people will struggle to take the initial steps in socialist industrialisation and the construction of material and technical bases; meanwhile we will complete socialist transformation and turn our economy into a socialist economy.

We all know that one of the many essential functions of proletarian dictatorship is to use violence to repress our enemies in order to safeguard the revolutionary achievements and create the right conditions for the revolution to advance favourably.

Everyone knows that labour and production on the one hand and the safeguarding of the fruit of revolution and production on the other are two aspects of a single problem. If we do not pay attention to safeguarding the fruit we increase the problem; we may even lose all that we produce.

Summing up the revolutionary experiences of the working class during the last several decades, the Moscow conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries in 1957 raised the question of "safeguarding the fruit of socialism against

the destructive activities of external and internal enemies" as one of the universal laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction in all countries in the world.

The question of safeguarding production, the fruits of labour, socialist construction, and the Fatherland, acquires a still greater significance at the very moment when the imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., are increasing their espionage and sabotage activities, and their subversive actions against the socialist countries, when they are making feverish preparations for aggressive wars, and when the U.S. — Diem clique in the South are trying by every means to send their henchmen to destroy the North so as to restore the colonial and semi-feudal regime in this part of our country.

That is why the Party Central Committee has pointed out in its political report the following task: " Simultaneously and in coordination with economic development, we must strive to consolidate national defence, intensify order and security, and safeguard socialist construction in the North " as one of the five fundamental tasks of the First Five-Year Plan.

Not only has the political report pointed out the tasks but it has also worked out fundamental orientations aimed at pushing forward the struggle against counter-revolutionaries :

" The people's Democratic State must be resolute in enforcing dictatorship if it is to fulfil its historic task. To ensure dictatorship, the State must apply not only revolutionary laws to punish enemy elements, but also wage a political and ideological struggle to destroy

their influence. On the one hand, the State must attach importance to consolidating the people's armed and semi-armed forces, perfecting the people's public security organs, people's courts and people's organs of control, which are sharp weapons in strengthening dictatorship. On the other hand, the State must mobilise and organise the masses of people to carry out a political struggle to repress counter-revolutionaries and an ideological struggle to educate backward elements."

Basing ourselves on this direction, we must actively carry out propaganda and education work so as to heighten further the revolutionary vigilance and develop the zeal of all cadres, Party members and the whole people in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other law transgressors; we must continue to mobilise the people to participate in the movement for safeguarding order and security, to make them conscious of their responsibility to defend the fruits of the revolution, defend the Fatherland and ensure the safety of their everyday life; we must strengthen the protection of offices, the army, enterprises, construction sites, collective farms, etc., maintain Party and State secrecy; we must vigilantly defend our frontiers and effectively prevent every enemy act of destruction and invasion; we must resolutely mobilise the masses timely to struggle against, and severely punish the actual destructive activities of the spies and other counter-revolutionaries; at the same time we must rely upon the masses actively to re-educate the counter-revolutionaries already tried, and neutralise the social bases easily utilisable by the counter-revolutionaries.

The struggle against counter-revolutionaries is a great and heavy revolutionary task for the entire Party and people. Our struggle is for a just cause, guided by the Party and warmly supported by the masses of people, therefore we are certain to fulfil it satisfactorily.

Under the leadership of the Party, the main requirement is that all our cadres shall heighten their revolutionary vigilance and sense of responsibility, actively educate and organise the masses to resolutely struggle against counter-revolutionaries and take fully advantage of the fundamental experience gained during our fight against counter-revolutionaries in the past few years. We must be active in correctly implementing the tasks, guiding principles, lines of action and policies which are indicated very concretely and clearly in the political report of the Party Central Committee. Then we will be certain to maintain order and security, safeguard labour, peace and the happy life of the people, satisfactorily serve socialist transformation and construction in the North, and the struggle for national reunification.

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**SOCIALIST
INDUSTRIALISATION**

by LE THANH NGHI

Dear Comrades,

I am in complete agreement with the political report of the Central Committee read to the Party Congress by comrade Le Duan.

One of the major questions discussed and decided at this Congress is socialist industrialisation of the North of our country. At the Party Congress as at all levels, our comrades were in complete agreement with the policy and guiding principle of industrialisation, and the direction of the task of industrial development in the First Five-Year Plan expounded by the Central Committee at this Congress. This is proof that the Central Committee's policy and guiding principle have reflected the will and aspirations of the entire Party and all our people in the work of socialist construction.

Comrades,

Allow me to add some ideas on the Party's policies of socialist industrialisation and development of heavy industry in the North of our country.

As is well-known, the colonial-feudal system kept our economy in a state of utter backwardness ; agricultural production which was carried out with rudimentary implements, was under the constant threat of natural calamities, industry was small, crippled and without a single unit producing iron and steel, machines or chemicals. This state of backwardness was the

source of all the poverty and sufferings which weighed heavily on our people for generations.

After fifteen years of devastating war, our economy was even more depressed and exhausted. On the restoration of peace, our economic rehabilitation encountered tremendous difficulties on top of all this. On their withdrawal, the French colonialists believed that we would be driven to a deadlock. But difficulties could not hamper our people's progress in healing the wounds of war and reconstructing our country. Under the correct leadership of the Party headed by our beloved and respected comrade Ho Chi Minh, our people scored unprecedentedly big successes. The formerly poor agriculture in the North which was unable to provide an adequate supply of foodstuffs for the population who, as a result, suffered from frequent famine, is now developing strongly and is beginning to develop all-sidedly. Rice output in the North increased from 3,523,400 tons in 1955 to 5,193,000 tons in 1959, thus definitely forging ahead of the South, despite the fact that the latter has more fertile land and more favourable conditions for cultivation.

Industry has been rapidly rehabilitated and developed. According to plan, in 1960, the value of the output of industry and handicraft will have increased by 420 per cent as compared with 1955 — an annual average increase of 39.1 per cent — in which group A will have increased by 43.9 per cent and group B by 37.1 per cent. Our industry has increased not only in quantity but also in quality. In 1960, in the gross value of industrial and handicraft output, group A accounts for 32.4 per cent. We have succeeded

in setting up the initial foundations of light industry, supplying over 90 per cent of consumer goods needed by the people. For example: textile production which was 8,800,000 metres in 1955 will, as is planned, be as much as 82 million metres thus meeting the people's demands for various kinds of textiles in daily use. There is a sufficient supply of knitwear. Production of sugar and treacle in 1960 is three times greater than that of 1955 thus satisfying a major part of the demand. There is an adequate supply of soap, tea, tobacco and cigarettes, matches, office requisites, enamelware, plastic articles, etc. A number of our good quality products can be exported, such as: silks, cotton goods, knitwear, office supplies, enamelware, plastic articles, beer, tobacco and cigarettes, soap, etc. In 1960, the products of light industry and handicrafts account for over 30 per cent of the gross value of our exported goods. Above, we have mentioned only the products turned out by the industrial and handicraft units actually in service. At present, we are carrying on the construction of a number of light industry and food industry factories such as the Hanoi Textile mill with an annual productive capacity of 35 million metres of good quality textiles, the Viet Tri paper mill with a productive capacity of 25,000 tons, the sugar mills at Nghe An, Van Diem and Viet Tri with a productive capacity of 23,000 tons, the Hai Duong Porcelain factory with a productive capacity of 1,500 tons, etc. With these factories, and others producing gourmet-powder, canned fruit and meat, cakes and sweets, tinned milk, spirits, electric bulbs, vacuum flasks, etc., which will be placed in service this year or in the next

few years, and together with the wide expansion of local industrial productive bases and handicraft producers' co-operatives, we will be able, by the middle of the First Five-Year Plan, to ensure the supply of almost all consumer goods required by the people. The quantity of light industry goods for export will increase considerably. From a state of affairs in which almost all our consumer goods had to be imported — a heritage of the French colonial system — our production, within a relatively short period has succeeded not only in meeting our people's growing needs but also in producing goods for export. This is our people's achievement of great economic and political significance.

The industrial sector manufacturing means of production has developed fairly rapidly. Electric power generated in 1960 will have doubled as compared with 1939. Machine-building industry has partly supplied light industry, the building industry and the transport and communications branch with machine-tools and small machines such as : motor-boats, barges, tug-boats, railway carriages... and ensured the supply of improved agricultural tools. Along with the speedy construction of the Thai Nguyen metallurgical centre, small blast furnaces have been built in various localities turning out pig iron of relatively good quality. In 1960 coal production has increased 2.8 times over 1955, cement 3.5 times as compared with 1956, apatite 19.11 times and chromium 12.5 times. Local industry which has expanded fairly rapidly, now includes 612 small State-owned industrial enterprises and 853 joint State-private enterprises. The output value of local State industry in

1960 amounts to 19 per cent of that of State industry as a whole. Over the last few years, our State industry has constantly grown. By the end of 1960, we shall have 172 large and medium size State industrial enterprises under central management. State industry occupies 82.43 per cent of the whole industry, joint State-private enterprises and co-operative enterprises occupy the remaining 17.57 per cent. Agricultural and handicraft collectivization will be completed in the main by the end of the year. Socialist transformation in the North of our country in 1960 has thus won decisive success.

Better developed industry has created favourable conditions for the expansion of agriculture, transport and communications and other economic branches and on the basis of developed production, the people's livelihood has been markedly improved compared with the past. After 6 years, the per capita national income has approximately doubled and real wages of workers and employees have increased 55 per cent. In per capita annual consumption, rice has risen from 115 kilogrammes to 172 kilogrammes, meat from 3.4 kilogrammes to 7.4 kilogrammes, sugar and treacle from 0.3 kilogramme to 1.3 kilogrammes, textiles from 3.5 metres to 5.4 metres, writing paper from 0.14 kilogramme to 1.4 kilogrammes, etc.

The big achievements in the rehabilitation and development of industry are proof that our Party's leadership is absolutely correct. It has thoroughly understood the particularities of the economic situation of our country as an agriculturally backward economy where more than 90 percent of the population are peasants, and with a small and heavily war-damaged

industry. To develop industry we must start with the expansion of agriculture, using it as the main link in the plan of rehabilitation and development of the national economy. Our industry is still small, there is a great shortage of cadres and technical workers. We have not as yet grasped the situation where our natural resources are concerned. Therefore, in the period of economic rehabilitation "attention must be paid to rehabilitating and developing light industry first, and at the same time expanding the industry manufacturing the means of production according to our needs and within our capacities". In the Three-Year Plan, when more material conditions, cadres and workers were available, our Party's policy was "to strive to promote the development of industry manufacturing the means of production and at the same time continuing to speed up the expansion of light industry turning out consumer goods".

The success of the economic rehabilitation and development in our country is the success of the integration of the Marxist-Leninist theory with practical conditions in Viet Nam. We should thoroughly understand this fact in order constantly to stick to the guiding principle of the integration of theory with practice. This is a most essential way of thinking for our Party.

These big achievements have brought into relief the superiority of the socialist system in the North over the U.S. - Diem dictatorial fascist regime in the South, which is leading the southern economy into decline and deadlock, thereby increasing the people's sufferings and poverty. Suffering from hardship and

gloom under the U.S. - Diem regime, our southern compatriots, who daily look to the North and rejoice at the successes scored by their northern compatriots, will gather more strength and enthusiasm in the struggle against the U.S. - Diem clique and for national reunification.

These successes once again testify to the revolutionary activity and boundless creativeness of the working class and labouring people of our country. Under the Party's leadership we are fully capable of achieving the building of socialism within a relatively short period.

Our people's achievements in the economic rehabilitation and development and cultural development are closely connected with the whole-hearted assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other brother countries. As they have suffered much under the rule of aggressive imperialism, our people are greatly moved by the assistance of the socialist countries, a completely disinterested and generous assistance, an extremely lofty expression of proletarian internationalism. The Vietnamese people will forever keep engraved deep in their hearts their gratitude to the Party, Government and people of the brother countries.

Comrades,

Based on the success of the Three-Year Plan of economic development and transformation, the North of our country will, from 1961, pass over to a new stage, with the building of socialism as its focus, and at the same time completing the socialist transformation of the national economy. To develop the productive

forces strongly, to consolidate and develop the new production relations and make the North of our country advance quickly, strongly and steadily to socialism and ceaselessly to improve the people's livelihood, we have no other way but to carry out socialist transformation, which is the central task of our Party and the whole people in the period of transition.

Our Party's policy in putting into effect socialist industrialisation in the North may be formulated as follows : socialist industrialisation in the North consists in building a balanced and modern socialist economic structure, combining industry with agriculture and taking heavy industry as the basis giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry and at the same time striving to develop agriculture and light industry, with a view to transforming our country from a backward agricultural country into one endowed with a modern industry and a modern agriculture, modern science and technique and an advanced culture.

Our Party's policy of industrialisation and the direction of the development of industry reflects the creative application of Lenin's principles on socialist industrialisation to reality in Viet Nam in the new historic conditions.

In the circumstances obtaining in our country, to advance straight from a backward agricultural economy to socialism, by-passing the stage of capitalist development, is an objective necessity in order to create material bases for socialism. Only by carrying out socialist industrialisation can we fulfil the required conditions for putting into practice the technical transformation of the national economy on the basis of

advanced technique, ceaselessly increasing the social labour productivity and steadily improving the material and cultural life of the people. Socialist industrialisation consolidates and develops socialist economic forces, and ensures the success of socialist in the struggle to wipe out capitalist economy and in the transformation of agriculture and handicrafts along socialist lines. A developed industry will increase the force and raise the leading role of the working class, consolidate proletarian dictatorship and the worker-peasant alliance, and strengthen the defence potential of our country.

Socialist economy is an economic system embracing a modern industry and a modern agriculture which are closely connected and motivate each other's development. In a socialist economy industry plays the leading part but agriculture constitutes the foundation of industry. Not only does agriculture supply foodstuffs to industry and raw materials to light industry but it is also a big market for industry and a major source of capital accumulation for the state for the needs of industrial development. The faster and steadier agriculture expands and the higher the level of agricultural co-operation, the more favourable will be the conditions for socialist industrialisation and the greater will be the speed of industrial development. Slow or reduced development of agriculture will immediately bring about difficulties for the plan of industrial development and all other economic branches as well as for the people's livelihood.

Our Party has, up to now, shown great concern for agricultural development and will continue to do

so. We must do just as comrade Ho Chi Minh says :
“ We must advance towards socialism on both legs — both industry and agriculture going at the same speed — if industry moves forward more quickly than agriculture then we will limp...” We firmly believe that with favourable natural conditions, with the great creativeness of our peasants, under the correct leadership of the Party and enjoying the full assistance of socialist industry, the backward agriculture of our country will be rapidly transformed into a prosperous socialist agriculture and our peasants' livelihood will be more abundant and their lives happier.

In carrying out socialist industrialisation we must first develop industry manufacturing means of production. This is demanded by objective economic law. Only if priority is given to the development of the sector manufacturing means of production, first and foremost, to the development of heavy industry manufacturing the means of production, can we enjoy suitable conditions for enlarged re-production in a permanent way and constantly increase labour productivity. Heavy industry is the basis for technical progress in all branches of the national economy, has an overall effect on the development of agriculture and ensures the technical revolution in agriculture. Giving priority to the development of heavy industry is prerequisite for building up, within a relatively short period a material basis and an advanced technique in full keeping with the socialist political system in the North of our country.

Along with the development of heavy industry efforts must be made rapidly to develop light industry,

manufacturing consumer goods. We must maintain a harmonious ratio of development between heavy industry and light industry, this being one of the most important ratios to be maintained in the plan of socialist economic development. The development of light industry is aimed not only at producing more consumer goods for the ever-growing requirements of the people, but it also stimulates and promotes the development of agriculture because a developed light industry will consume a great deal of agricultural products. A developed light industry will create favourable conditions for the development of heavy industry because light industry supplies the workers employed in heavy industry with processed foods and consumer goods, supplies a great many products needed for the development of heavy industry and in its turn consumes a great many products of heavy industry. A developed light industry will make an important contribution to increasing capital accumulation for the State. In our country, the development of light industry and food industry is of great importance.

After the 14th session of the Party Central Committee, our local industries developed at a rather quick tempo and exerted a good influence upon the development of agriculture and industry and the improvement of the livelihood of the local population. Actual facts have testified to the complete correctness of the principle formulated by the Central Committee that "simultaneously with the expansion of industries run by the central authorities and local industries, co-ordination must be established between big, medium-and small-sized enterprises, and between advanced methods

of production and rudimentary methods. " At the same time they have demonstrated that the toiling masses have ample possibilities to undertake industry. Scientific and technical problems and the problems of industrial construction are no longer mysteries as they were formerly made out to be. Firmly grasping the principle put forth by the Party, in time to come, we will expand local industry and help industry in mountain regions to develop. In the delta, together with the consolidation, and expansion of existing enterprises and the development of new bases in various towns, we must expand small production bases in the districts, villages farms and agricultural co-operatives in order to meet the requirements of technical improvements in agriculture and increase the supply of consumer goods to the peasants.

The development of new state enterprises must be closely linked to the organisation of handicraft co-operatives and joint State-private enterprises so as to enable them to complement each other and help them to expand. Development must go together with consolidation and be undertaken according to a plan agreed upon between the central authorities and local authorities and between the various regions themselves; it must be undertaken with a plan drawn up for each production base as well.

The Party's policy and principle of socialist industrialisation are: to develop industry and agriculture together; rationally to develop heavy industry as a priority, to expand agriculture and light industry together, to develop the industries run by the central authorities and those run by the local authorities; to

have a rich and living theoretical content, to embody in a lively manner the common line of socialist revolution followed by the Party. According to this policy and this principle, we shall be able to mobilise all active forces ; harness all potentialities of our land and people rapidly to achieve socialist industrialisation of our country ; firmly maintain our plan for the development of the national economy as a focal point ; build a heavy industry, the foundation stone of socialist economy, and at the same time develop our national economy all-sidedly, harmoniously and steadily.

Dear Comrades,

I will tell you something more about the development of heavy industry in our country. As we know, this is a key problem in the socialist industrialisation of our country. A correct solution to this problem will not only exert a great influence on the rate of industrial and agricultural development and on the tempo of socialist industrialisation and construction, but also on the problem of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and improving the people's livelihood.

All of us have agreed that it is necessary to give priority to the development of heavy industry ; the problem now arising is the steps to be taken for this development, its management, structure and size.

Basing itself on the specific conditions of our country, our Party has decided to develop heavy industry steadily stage by stage.

Since the re-establishment of peace, our industry has gone through two periods : from 1955 to 1957, the

period of economic re-habilitation, during which, as stated above, our Party favoured the policy of paying attention to the re-habilitation and development of light industry first, and at the same time the restoration and development of industries turning out means of production. During the Three-Year Plan (1958-1960), when more suitable conditions existed, our Party decided on greater impetus to the development of industry turning out means of production and at the same time, to continue accelerating the development of industry producing consumer goods. In the industrial re-habilitation and development undertaken during these two periods, also included was the work of preparing material conditions and training cadres and workers for the First Five-Year Plan, in which priority is to be given to the development of heavy industry. Thus, the steps we have taken are entirely in line with the practical conditions pertaining to our country.

From 1961 onwards, the North will embark on the First Five-Year Plan. The development of heavy industry will really become a pressing need for the development and transformation of the national economy and the initial establishment of material and technical bases for socialism. We now enjoy the necessary relative conditions for that purpose. However, these conditions are still limited, and therefore, our Party has set for the First Five-Year Plan the preliminary task of giving priority to the development of heavy industry. This policy is very practical and entirely corresponds to the present possibilities in our country.

To develop heavy industry step by step does not mean we are dragging our steps. It means that we

must step forward and that the plan for the development of heavy industry must be based on the practical conditions and requirements of our country, to work out rational and sound norms so as to enable us to overfulfil them, and on this basis, to reach higher targets. As regards this development, our Party and people must devote all their zeal, initiative and efforts to it, and make use of all their potentialities to attain high rates of development.

Our people must develop their spirit of reliance on their own power to the highest degree and make good use of the assistance given by the brother countries in order to establish a good socialist economy and make it a mainstay for national independence. We are duty-bound to set up a heavy industry having the necessary conditions to become a strong basis for the establishment of a modern socialist economy in our country. Furthermore, in the course of building and developing heavy industry in north Viet Nam, we must not only take into consideration the possibilities and requirements of the North, but must foresee the conditions and demands of the South, of the whole country when it is reunified. On the other hand, we must feel it our duty to intensify economic co-operation with the socialist countries, so as to contribute an active part to the development of the common economy of the socialist camp, and take upon ourselves the task of developing economic relations with other countries, with African and Asian countries, especially the South-east Asian countries.

To carry out these tasks, we must systematically develop all the main sectors of heavy industry, such as

electric power, metallurgy, machine building, fuel, chemicals, building materials, in order to satisfy the requirements arising from the expanded re-production of various branches of the national economy.

However, this does not mean that we shall develop these industrial branches without rhyme nor reason and in any size. Our Party favours the policy of nationally developing heavy industry, with a structure and to an extent appropriate to the conditions and requirements of our country and in relation to our share in international co-operation in socialist economy. Within determined periods, we must discover which of these various branches are likely to have a decisive effect or exert a greater influence upon the development of the national economy in order to concentrate on them.

Our heavy industry must be developed in a rational way because our country is rather small and does not possess the necessary resources for the development of all sections of heavy industry, and because our population is relatively small and the demand for heavy industry products on the part of the various economic branches is limited. Internationally speaking, our country belongs to the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, whose heavy industry is modern and highly developed; and among the countries of the socialist camp, economic co-operation develops more steadily and broadly with every passing day. Our country can depend on international socialism for economic co-operation and assistance; the socialist countries supply us with the necessary equipment, machinery and materials which we cannot produce or are not as yet in a position to produce.

Thanks to the pooling of economic co-operation by international socialism, it is not necessary for us to develop all lines of heavy industry; we can therefore devote our efforts to developing the industrial branches, for the expansion of which we enjoy the best natural and economic conditions; as a result, we can spare an appropriate amount of capital to develop agriculture and light industry in order to satisfy the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people.

In the period to come, the primary task for our heavy industry is to supply its products to industry, agriculture, transport and communications and house building, with a view unceasingly to step up all economic activities and provide the people with food, housing, clothing, education, etc. In addition, we must develop the mining and metallurgical industries to produce goods for export, because we have an abundant reserve of ores which are badly needed by our brother countries, such as coal, apatite, chromite, tin, zinc, aluminium; and the export of as many of these products as possible is profitable for our national economy and for the economic development of the socialist camp as a whole.

In the development of various branches of heavy industry, we must attach particular importance to the power industry, and engineering and metallurgy (especially iron and steel) because they are the key lines of heavy industry.

The power industry ought to be developed a step ahead of other industrial branches, because the power industry and engineering are the bases of technical progress and the bases for increasing equipment and

strengthening the technical force in the national economy. They pave the way for electrification and automation of the productive branches. Not only is electric power indispensable for industry but it is necessary for agriculture, transport and communications and is a factor of paramount importance for improving the living standard of the population in town and countryside. Following the glorious path set by Lenin, who says that "Communism is soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country", we must do our utmost swiftly to develop the power industry in order to satisfy the requirements of the development of all economic branches and to endeavour to achieve the electrification of the country within a relatively short period of time. Our country enjoys many favourable conditions to enable this fine hope to materialise. In the North alone, preliminary hydraulic surveys have shown that our network of rivers will be able to supply a hydro-power of 13,600,000 kilowatts, and thanks to good natural sites, the building cost of many hydro-power stations are cheaper than those of a thermo-power station. To supply fuel for our thermo-power stations, we possess huge reserves of anthracite coal having a high calorific content and being relatively easy to extract. The Hongay — Quang Yen coal mines alone possess reserves amounting to from 10,000 to 12,000 million tons. Therefore the direction to be followed for a long term development of electric power is mainly to develop hydro-power together with thermo-power; it is to co-ordinate hydro-power with thermo-power into a unified network and to multiply small local generating stations. By following this direction, we

shall be able to extend electric power rapidly so that it can constantly fulfil its task of being the "vanguard" in the national economy. During the Five-Year Plan, we shall build hydro-power stations at Thac Ba, Quang Cu and Lang Hit and a thermo-power station at Uong Bi, enlarge the existing thermo-power stations at Thai Nguyen, Vinh, Lao Cai, Thanh Hoa, etc., and conduct survey work for the building of a hydro-power station on the Lo River, with a capacity of 400,000 kilowatt so that construction work can be started by the end of the First Five-Year Plan or at the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan. Initial survey work for the big hydro-power station on the Da river will begin. As far as coal is concerned, in the Five-Year Plan, our target is to bring the output up to 4,200,000 tons, or a boost of 71.4 per cent as compared with 1960 in order to satisfy the requirements of thermo-power stations and other home needs and to increase the volume of exports.

We must pay particular attention to developing the engineering industry because it is a key to heavy industry. Only by rapidly developing the engineering industry can we be amply supplied with equipment, machinery and implements to develop industry, agriculture, transport and communications and constantly to raise social labour productivity. The scope of development of the engineering industry is very wide and embraces the production of various machine-tools, engines for various lines of heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, capital construction, transport and communications, implements, spare parts, observation

instruments, etc. In the present conditions of our country, where our possibilities are limited, and thanks to the economic co-operation of international socialism, the development of our engineering industry must consist in concentrating our efforts on manufacturing the necessary equipment and machinery which we are able to produce. In the course of the First Five-Year Plan, our engineering sector must attend to the production of machine-tools of second degree precision, improved farm tools, semi-mechanized and mechanized agricultural instruments of medium and small size, generators, internal combustion engines of medium and small size, light agricultural machines, handicraft apparatus, mining machines of medium and small size, small ships, barges, tug-boats, motor-boats, railway carriages, etc.. The development of production of spare parts for machines and tools used in industry, transport and communications, capital construction, etc. must also be attended to.

We must attach importance to the development of production of machine tools because only by having a good supply of them can we build up many more machine building bases. In accordance with the method "The mother bears well and in turn her children will bear well", our machine building branch will develop rapidly. One of the important objectives which it has to serve effectively is semi-mechanisation and mechanisation of agriculture. Our immediate task is to supply agriculture with various kinds of improved and semi-mechanised farm implements and small and medium-sized agricultural machines, pumps and machines for processing agricultural products. At the same time we

must speed up the construction of plants manufacturing tractors and agricultural machines, study the making of machines appropriate to our soil, particularly to flooded fields. According to preliminary estimates the mechanisation of the whole of the arable area in the North will require from 40,000 to 50,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units). During the first period, as we cannot yet produce enough machines, we must rely on the assistance of the brother countries, but we must strive to arrive at self-sufficiency in tractors by developing production. With the assistance of the brother countries and the efforts of our workers and cadres, we are confident that we shall be able to reach our target in the near future.

To speed up the development of the machine-building branch, parallel with the enlargement of existing small engineering factories and workshops, the construction of many more medium and large size engineering factories with modern equipment and the establishment of a network of local small engineering workshops, we must launch a broad mass movement in factories and on construction sites, as well as in towns and the countryside. We must improve the means of production in accordance with the guiding principle which consists in combining big machines with medium-and small-sized machines, modern technique with indigenous technique, building new machines from old machines, big machines from small machines. We must produce by our own means various kinds of machines, tools, and means of transport aimed at gradually transforming manual labour (except for a particular section which must be done by hand) into

semi-mechanised and mechanised labour, gradually advancing towards automation and semi-automation in all branches of production. This is our path onward, the one and only measure to secure for our country's production and technique, a development at a fast tempo to catch up with advanced countries in the world.

In order rapidly to develop the machine-building industry for capital construction, transport and communications sectors we must speed up the construction and development of the metallurgical industry, with particular emphasis on iron and steel. If machines are the core of industry, iron and steel are the food of machines, the bases of industry. Only with iron and steel can we build machines, railways, bridges and other big works. Therefore within the framework of the Five-Year Plan, in heavy industry the establishment and development of the iron and steel sector ranks second after electric power which is the vanguard branch. The development of the iron and steel branch comes immediately after electric power in importance, because at present we have only a few small blast furnaces and two small electric furnaces for the production of iron and steel, and so the steel we need has at present to be imported. The slow development of the iron and steel branch has a bad influence on the development of the machine-building branch, capital construction, and communications and transport.

Our country is rich in iron ore with an abundant reserve and a high percentage of iron. We have conducted surveys and are certain of a reserve of almost 100 million tons of iron ore. It is estimated that by

1965 we shall have surveyed 250 million tons of reserves, thus ensuring a sufficient supply of iron ore to metallurgical bases with an annual output of millions of tons of steel. According to the geological structure of our country and the different kinds of ores we have found, we shall be able to discover many more ore reserves, particularly in the Red River delta. The specific characteristic of the North of our country is that it abounds in iron ore deposits scattered throughout many provinces; this will enable us to multiply small-sized blast-furnaces in various places. Concerning coal, one difficulty at present is that though we have recently discovered in Son La province a deposit of bituminous coal suitable for converting into coke, due to transport difficulties it cannot be exploited in the period of the First Five-Year Plan and we shall therefore still have to import bituminous coal. In Nho Quan, Ninh Binh province, there are indications of the existence of a bituminous coal deposit with relatively big reserves, but surveying it will require a certain time. In the absence of bituminous coal, we can use anthracite coal from the Mao Khe mine and others in the Hong Quang area to produce pig-iron in small-sized blast-furnaces, and add a small quantity to the coke used in medium sized blast-furnaces. As for other materials used in the production of pig-iron alloy required for the manufacture of steel, these are available in sufficient quantity. With these sources of raw materials, our metallurgical industry enjoys favourable conditions for developing strongly.

In the period of the First Five-Year Plan we shall complete the construction of the Thai Nguyen iron and

steel centre with a yearly capacity of 200,000 tons of steel. On this basis, production can be raised from 400,000 tons to 500,000 tons in the coming long-term plans. The survey and building of the second big iron and steel centre will start in the First Five-Year Plan. Parallel with the construction and development of modern iron and steel bases, we must multiply small-sized blast-furnaces and small-sized iron and steel bases in localities where conditions are suitable. It is estimated that within the period of the First Five-Year Plan the existing small-sized blast-furnaces and small iron and steel centres and those which are to be built, will be able to produce about 400,000 tons of pig iron and 400,000 tons of steel for ordinary use.

Along with the development of iron and steel production, we must develop the production of tin, zinc, lead, aluminium, antimony, ferro-silicum, copper, etc.

Simultaneously with the development of electric power, metallurgical, and machine-building industries, we must speed up the development of the building materials industry and make initial steps in the development of the chemical industry. These branches are important to the economic development and improvement of the people's livelihood.

The policies and guiding principles of socialist industrialisation and the orientation of the development of heavy industry in our country in the First Five-Year Plan worked out by the Party Central Committee, have been unanimously approved by the Party Congresses at various levels. However a number of comrades have not yet realised the necessity for implementing the priority development of heavy industry

during the period of the First Five-Year Plan. They hold that as agriculture accounts for the greater part in our national economy at present, we should therefore continue to consider agriculture as the key task, in the immediate future, instead of giving priority to the development of heavy industry, and they think that because the priority development of heavy industry requires a great accumulation of capital, it will have a bad influence on the improvement of the people's livelihood. They say that our country can rely on the assistance of the brother countries to supply us with equipment and machines.

Generally speaking, it is true that great importance must be attached to agricultural development, but it is wrong to say that our country does not need to give priority to the development of heavy industry. In the period of the First Five-Year Plan, our task is rapidly to develop national economy, and improve the people's material and cultural life. Great will be the requirements of the other economic branches in electric power, equipment, machines, tools, pig-iron, steel, fuel, building materials and other materials. For example in the development of industry, in 1965 we shall need about 1,000 million kw/hours of electricity, more than 100,000 tons of pig-iron, 300,000 tons of steel, about 3 million tons of coal, and hundreds of thousands of tons of machines, tools, etc. Though our country is enjoying the wholehearted assistance of the socialist countries, it still needs to give priority development to heavy industry to meet the requirements in means of production of various branches of industry, capital construction, communications and transport, and the construction

requirements of public utility works and cultural and housing establishments.

The big and urgent requirements of agriculture in means of production require an even more rapid development of heavy industry. In recent years, due to the Party's correct policies, and the peasants' industrious and heroic labour, our agriculture has developed rapidly. However, we must not allow ourselves to become complacent with these achievements, because our agricultural productivity is still low compared with that of the brother countries, our crops are constantly threatened by natural calamities, and the yield is not yet steady.

We must rapidly develop the production of food-stuffs as well as of industrial plants in order to meet home needs and export requirements and keep an appropriate proportion in stock. To apply the new technique aimed at increasing productivity and crops, enlarging the planting area, and rapidly developing agriculture, the important factors are the speeding up of the movement of agricultural cooperation, consolidation of cooperatives in all aspects, strengthening of the work of ideological education of co-op members, and raising the toiling peasants' spirit of being masters of the cooperatives, in building them industriously and economically. But the completion of these tasks alone is not enough. Parallel with them we must supply agriculture with a great quantity of fertilizer, insecticides, improved and semi-mechanized implements, all of good quality and at a low price, industrialise agriculture step by step and gradually advance to the technical revolution in agriculture in a basic way :

development of hydraulics, universal use of chemical fertilizers, mechanisation and electrification. To carry out these tasks, we must give priority to the development of heavy industry which will produce a large quantity of chemical fertilizer, insecticides, improved farm implements, agricultural machines, electric power, etc., ensuring supplies for the ever-growing needs of agricultural development.

We must endeavour to meet the needs in machines, tools and material to carry out the semi-mechanisation of forest exploitation, sea-fishery, and the needs of the construction of houses and buildings for public health and culture in the countryside in order gradually to carry out the construction of a socialist countryside. Export requirements in heavy industry products are also great and must be fulfilled.

In economic building and development in recent years, our country has enjoyed the wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries. Their assistance is very important. It gives us favourable conditions rapidly to develop our national economy. At present and also in the future, the brother countries are always ready to help us owing to their lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism. But it is incorrect to think that we need not yet give priority to the development of heavy industry on the ground that we are enjoying the assistance of the brother countries in equipments, machines and material. This way of thinking is groundless and is not in line with the principle of socialist international economic co-operation. We should not develop too great a spirit of dependence because of the assistance of the brother

countries. The assistance of the brother countries is aimed at creating conditions for our people to develop their spirit of self-sufficiency to a high degree in the building of their country. Furthermore, it must also be said that although the socialist countries are helping us wholeheartedly, this does not mean that they can supply us with all the machines, tools and material that we need, because the greater part of the machines, tools and material that we need consist of hundreds of different kinds which the brother countries have not produced for a long time or have never produced due to the fact that their conditions of production and ours are not alike.

We enjoy many favourable conditions for developing heavy industry. With regard to raw material, we have many mines whose abundant reserves will help our metallurgical sector to develop rapidly. To supply the fertilizer industry with raw material, we have a large apatite mine with a high percentage of phosphate. This mine can meet not only the requirements of home consumption but can also export millions of tons of ore yearly. Concerning raw materials and materials for light industry, we also enjoy many favourable conditions for developing production to help us become self-sufficiency, such as soda ash acids, dye-stuffs, cotton, artificial silk, etc. Naturally in the first stage we can only produce part of the above-mentioned materials, but their production will grow bigger and bigger and afterwards we can ensure home requirements in materials which our country has the favourable conditions to produce.

Tempered through six years of practical work and helped by experts from fraternal countries, our cadres and workers have made good progress and are able to run big enterprises and big construction sites, and blueprint building projects of a number of medium-sized factories. In recent years, the training of cadres and workers has been sped up by various measures. It is foreseen that in the coming Five-Year Plan there will be nearly 25,000 cadres graduated from higher educational institutions and approximately 100,000 from intermediary vocational schools. Among them, those trained at university for industry, architecture, building, and posts and communications will occupy 27 per cent of the total, and at intermediary vocational schools 18 per cent. In the same period the number of specialised workers will also be increased sharply, approximately by 200,000. Thus we will have enough cadres and workers to develop industry and the various economic and cultural branches. Their level will still be low but with their thirst for study, together with the Party's education, the assistance of experts from brother countries and through practical work, our cadres and workers will quickly come to maturity.

Giving priority to the development of heavy industry will require much capital investment, therefore we will have to increase capital accumulation for the State but it would be wrong to increase it too quickly and by too much. We must base ourselves on the development of production and the practice of economy to increase the accumulation rate and maintain a rational balance between accumulation and consumption ensuring capital accumulation for both the development of

industry and agriculture and the steady improvement of the people's livelihood.

In a word, giving priority to heavy industry is an objective necessity, an urgent and pressing demand of economic development to raise the social labour productivity in order to create conditions for the steady and lasting improvement of the people's livelihood. With regard to agriculture, giving priority to the development of heavy industry aims at overcoming difficulties in agriculture and creating material conditions for the technical transformation of agriculture, and for the all-sided, strong and steady development of agriculture in order to improve the peasants' livelihood ceaselessly. The whole Party and people must be helped to penetrate this in order to mobilise the forces of the broad masses of people actively to carry out socialist industrialisation in the North of our country.

Comrades,

To speedily build socialism in the North, and to strengthen it into a firm base for the struggle for national reunification we must develop industry and agriculture at high speed and rapidly carry out socialist industrialisation. We enjoy favourable fundamental conditions for industrial development at high speed: our people are industrious, imbued with ardent patriotism, and enthusiastic in building socialism; the established socialist production relations which are being more and more strengthened and developed are opening up great prospects of the development of our productive forces; our country is very rich in natural

resources and enjoys wholehearted assistance from the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries.

We must clearly realise the necessity speedily to carry out socialist industrialisation in the North and the possibilities inherent therein, in order to heighten our confidence and strive to work for the fulfilment of this glorious historic task. But we should not be subjective and should not divorce ourselves from practical conditions ; we should, instead, be fully aware of all our shortcomings and weaknesses, and difficulties in the economy of the North left behind by the colonial and feudal system, and of those we shall meet with in our advance.

At present, in the countryside the movement for agricultural co-operation is expanding rapidly, but many co-operatives are not as yet consolidated into strong ones and the majority are still of a lower level. Our agricultural production still depends too much on nature, crops easily meet with failure and the food problem has not yet been completely solved. Industrial crops are still developing at a low rate. Despite having developed fairly rapidly, our industry still occupies a small percentage in the national economy, our heavy industry is new-born, our light industry small and young ; technical improvements in handicrafts are still in their first stages and not yet widespread, and labour productivity in the industrial, agricultural and transport branches etc. is still too low. There is still a great shortage of technical cadres and workers. The cadres' level of management of enterprises and construction sites is still low and their lack of experience has been the cause of great waste. Planning is not yet all-sided

and the direction given to the implementation of plans lacks concrete measures and is not speedy. Geological prospecting and surveying work is not yet up to the mark. The overall investigation of the country's riches has made little progress. The demand in capital investment for economic development is great but our capacity for capital accumulation is still limited, etc.

To ensure a rapid development of our industry, we have to solve a number of big problems: training of cadres and workers, steadily improving the material and cultural life of the workers and labouring people: developing production, practising economy to increase capital accumulation for the State, expanding technical and scientific research work, intensifying geological prospecting work and basic investigation of our natural resources; carrying out the cultural and technical revolution; improving management of industry; rationally distributing productive forces and industrial areas; developing economic co-operation with the socialist countries. The content of those problems has been dealt with clearly in the Political Report and report on the First Five-Year Plan. I have nothing more to add to it.

Comrades,

To ensure socialist industrialisation in a 'faster, bigger, better and cheaper' way, our Party has to intensify the education and enhance the socialist consciousness of the cadres, Party members and the masses of people, imbue them further with the idea 'industriously and economically to build socialism and industry';

put in motion all forces that can be put in motion; bring into play the activity, initiative, and great creativeness of broad masses of labouring people, accelerate a lively campaign of mass emulation to promote initiative in technical improvement, rationalise production, increase labour productivity and practise economy, thus creating conditions for firm and big strides in all economic and cultural branches. Our people, who are full of vitality, energy and love for the country and socialism, will, in response to the Party's appeal, enthusiastically go forward to build up a new life.

The key to success is that our Party must constantly strengthen its leadership in industry and economy as a whole. Our Party must in a creative way apply Marxist-Leninist theory to the reality of our country, correctly work out a policy and line for socialist industrialisation and map out concrete policies in good time; and in implementing them always be in the front-rank of the mass movement and guide and organise the masses to carry out their work.

Not only must the leadership given to industry by the Party's Central Committee be strengthened, but also that given by local Party committees. The Party's leadership in enterprises, construction sites and handicraft co-operatives also needs to be strengthened further. As Party members, each of us has to make great efforts to take up political, cultural, technical and professional studies and to take part in production in order to ensure the successful fulfilment of State plans. To strengthen the Party's leadership at the lowest level, it is necessary correctly to carry out the method whereby the manager directs the work under the leadership of the Party Committee at the enterprise and with

the workers taking part in management, to enhance the leading capacity of the Party branches and to lean entirely on the masses of workers, trade union and Labour Youth Union.

The present Party Congress is discussing and deciding the general line on socialist revolution the policy and guiding principle on socialist industrialisation in the North of our country the stepping up of the struggle waged by the southern compatriots against the U.S.-Diem, and of the achievement of national reunification. The Congress resolutions will be like a dazzling beacon lighting the way and a source of encouragement for our people enthusiastically to move forward to win new successes, rapidly to carry out socialist industrialisation, to take the North forward quickly, vigorously and steadily to socialism, to build a cheerful and happy life and to consolidate the North to make it serve as a strong base for the struggle for national reunification. In the past revolutionary struggle and the Resistance war for national salvation, our people heroically won victory. Certainly they will be gloriously successful in socialist industrialisation, in the building of socialism and in the struggle for national reunification by peaceful means.

**ACCELERATING THE DEVELOPMENT
OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION
ALL-SIDEDLY, VIGOROUSLY
AND STEADILY TO MAKE
IT A BASIS FOR SOCIALIST
INDUSTRIALISATION**

by PHAM HUNG

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Dear Comrades,

The contents of the political report of the Party's Central Committee are a creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of the Vietnamese revolution. It lights the way for our whole Party and people to wage the socialist revolution in the North, accomplish the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country, and achieve the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. It especially points the way for developing industry, the way we must inevitably go in order to advance towards socialism, the only way to improve our present backward economy so as further to expand social production, with a view to raising constantly the people's welfare.

The central task of the whole transitional period is to realise socialist industrialisation, but the question to grasp is on what basis are we realising it? I would like to express my views on the question of "Accelerating the development of agricultural production all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily to make it a basis for socialist industrialisation.

I

IN ORDER TO ADVANCE TRANSITIONALLY TOWARDS SOCIALISM WE HAVE FIRST TO TRANSFORM AND DEVELOP AGRICULTURE AS A BASIS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

In carrying out the plans for economic rehabilitation, development and transformation of economy, and development of culture, we realise that the lines laid down by the Party to make the rehabilitation, transformation and development of agriculture the basis of our national economy are thoroughly correct.

Immediately after the restoration of peace, the resolution of September 1954 of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party clearly pointed out: "First it is necessary firmly to grasp that the rehabilitation and development of agricultural production is the key problem, the basis for the improvement of the people's livelihood, a guarantee for the people's food, for economic prosperity, for increasing the flow of goods". Following that, the resolutions of various sessions of the Central Committee have thoroughly applied the policy of considering agriculture as a basis, of all-sidedly developing agriculture and of conceiving food production as the central task in agriculture. The 14th session of the Central Committee particularly formulated the task of guiding north Viet Nam's peasants to socialism through co-operation. The session's resolution pointed out that "agricultural

co-operation is the pivot in the political tasks of the Party in the new stage ", and the present principal task of agricultural production is food production, but other agricultural branches must not be neglected. We must do our utmost to establish an agriculture with many products and many occupations: industrial crops, livestock breeding, fisheries, forestry, subsidiary occupations.

Looking back into the process of agricultural development we see clearly that since the restoration of peace, our Party has centred its attention and forces on the agricultural front. Carrying out land reform and agricultural co-operation is aimed at liberating agricultural productive forces; the formulation of the directive "to produce all-sidedly beyond the norm and steadily" and the "chain" technique in agriculture is aimed at developing agriculture. The resolutions, instructions of the Central Committee on water-supply works, improvement of farm implements, livestock breeding, forestry, sea-products, the price policy for chemical fertilizers and the bank policy of granting loans are aimed at developing agriculture all-sidedly.

The theory and practice of the transformation and development of agriculture during the past years have proved the correctness of our Party's policy.

Socialist industrialisation is an objective law of development for all countries with a backward economy which want to advance to socialism. In our country, damaged by fifteen years of warfare and where the economy had collapsed, the first thing to do is to see to the improvement of the people's livelihood and to create the necessary conditions for the development of

industry, such as outlets, raw materials, foodstuffs. Therefore, the development of agriculture must be considered as the basis for the building of socialism and the establishment of a powerful industry responding to Viet Nam's conditions.

The situation of the economic development in our country during the past years has revealed that the higher the agricultural production, the higher the industrial production; and the greater the financial income, the higher are the sources of accumulation for the State and the funds for capital construction; the greater the volume of commodities circulating on the internal market and in exchanges with foreign countries the higher is the volume of freight handled by the posts and communications service. On the contrary, when agricultural production meets with difficulties, sometimes after only one harvest shortage, the rate of development of industry, commerce, capital construction, posts and communications, all branches and services of public utility etc., will be more or less affected. Meanwhile, the rate of agricultural development exerts a decisive influence upon the people's purchasing power and the improvement of their livelihood. This is a feature which has the character of a law, a truth substantiated by practical economic construction in the North. This is a basic lesson of experience drawn from the periods of economic rehabilitation, economic development and transformation and cultural development (see appendix on some control figures of development of the national economy attached hereto).

In agriculture in particular the colonialist and feudal regime and fifteen years of war devastation

have left an extremely heavy aftermath in the economic, cultural and social fields. Under the leadership of the Party, the toiling peasants in the northern part of our country, developing their tradition of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, in the general atmosphere of enthusiasm of the entire people, have risen up with a new revolutionary spirit, heightened their positiveness and creative spirit, to make agricultural production develop at a speedy tempo, unprecedented in our history, while yet we have no agricultural machines.

From 1955 to 1959, agricultural output increased by 52.4 per cent or 11.1 per cent annually. The output of paddy notably increased by 147.3 per cent, yielding 2,285 kgs per hectare on the average. In South-east Asia, the northern part of our country has taken the lead in the production of rice, in average yield per hectare as well as average output per capita. (See the two appendices on our average paddy output per hectare and the average paddy output per capita in other South-east Asian countries). The tempo of increase of agricultural production in general and of food production in particular in north Viet Nam during the past five years has never been known in capitalist countries.

From 1955 to 1959, we had to devote three years to economic rehabilitation and have only begun to develop economy in the last two years. During this short span, our agricultural production recorded remarkable progress compared with the pre-war days. At the same time the agricultural structure began to change and made headway. Our agricultural production, which had formerly a monoculture character has now become

more diversified. Foodstuffs have increased rapidly and still occupy the front rank : industrial crops and animal husbandry expanded more quickly.

On the basis of development of production, the people's material life has been gradually and clearly improved. From 1957 to 1959 the real per capita income of the peasants increased by 14.7 per cent. Cultural life in the countryside has also been improved further. Famine, which occurred in pre-harvest periods has been fundamentally averted. This is a glorious achievement of our people under the leadership of the Party.

The success achieved in the increase of production and the improvement of the people's material and cultural life is closely linked with the steady successes we have won in socialist transformation of agriculture and in the establishment of its socialist relations. Following the 14th session of the Party Central Committee late in 1958, our Party made the transformation and development of agricultural production the keynote, placing a practical though huge and immediate task before the Party and the whole people in order to create suitable conditions for the development of all other tasks.

Due to the need to develop the productive forces of society, the need to improve the people's livelihood, and due to the profound political confidence of the toiling peasants in the Party and the determination of the Party to take the peasantry to socialism, and because in the course of production, many peasants have seen more and more clearly the superiority of the co-operatives, the movement for co-operation has expanded swiftly and paved the way for a period of

great change in the livelihood of the people of north Viet Nam.

At the end of 1958, in the whole of north Viet Nam there were only 5 per cent of toiling peasant households in agricultural producers' co-operatives ; but by the middle of this year, there were already 55 per cent. By the end of this year the movement for agricultural co-operation will fundamentally accomplish the task of guiding the toiling peasants into lower level co-operatives. The co-operation movement of a mass character, which at first involved millions of poor peasants and lower middle peasants and has developed rapidly and soundly, is a co-ordination of the change in the production relations, technical improvement and development of production, and of the inculcation of socialist ideology in the co-op members. Through hard trials and arduous struggle against natural calamities such as serious drought, the movement is being consolidated with every passing day ; it has drawn a lot of experiences and is developing more strongly and broadly. Co-operation and mutual assistance are becoming a powerful factor pushing forward the improvement of farming technique, especially in hydraulics. From the realities of co-operation in agricultural production has sprung the technique consisting of nine points : sufficient water, abundant manure, good seeds, deep ploughing, close planting, improved implements, the fight against plant diseases, keen attention to the fields, appropriate planting season. Owing to the increase in productivity and the rise in income and to the inculcation of new ideas among the masses, the movement for technical improvement has a good basis for a gradual and firm

development. The movement for the improvement of implements is still weak ; it has begun to change favourably in a number of provinces, but is not yet widespread and powerful in others.

Livestock breeding, fishery and forestry have made manifest headway. The State farms (including army-farms, and producers' collectives of unified southern regroupees) have gone through a few years of hard trials, have made initial progress and achieved conditions favourable for demonstrating the supremacy and the exemplary effect of ownership by the whole people.

Our compatriots in the mountainous areas have also scored important successes in agricultural production and in the co-operative movement combined with the carrying out of democratic reforms.

The great victories we have won in agricultural production are not accidental, but have sprung from the nature of the socialist regime. These victories are linked with the superiority of the socialist regime, with the correct leadership of our Party and the Marxist-Leninist line and are the result of the hard work and creative spirit of the peasants. The rich practical experiences gained in the work of agricultural transformation and development and economic development and transformation in north Viet Nam during recent years, together with the great achievements recorded in the Soviet Union, the powerful growth in China and other brother countries, have testified that "a high rate of development is the prevailing law of socialism". After the historic victories of the war of Resistance and

of land reform, the victory of the co-operation movement and agricultural production once again testifies that the Vietnamese toiling peasants have in practice recognized in our Party "a leader and a well organized champion, energetic and strong enough to help and lead them, to show them the right way", the way to abolish poverty and ignorance, the way to collectivism, abundance, freedom and happiness. The broad masses of the peasants have drawn the conclusion for themselves that "the right way is to follow the Party's and President Ho Chi Minh's teachings". For us, cadres and members of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, this political confidence is the highest reward, it encourages us to believe firmly in the great allies of the working class, constantly to devote our efforts to consolidating and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, enthusiastically to guide agriculture to develop all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily and to build a better and happier life for our people.

We are the followers of the principle of uninterrupted revolution. While affirming the preliminary victory, we cannot say that the increase in agricultural production is sufficient to the extent that we will be able in the future to maintain a necessary balanced proportion between agriculture and industry nor can we say that the per capita production of paddy has met the requirements of the improvement of the livelihood of the peasants and the entire people at large. We must realise that in agricultural production there are a great many unexploited potential possibilities, that the technical level of production is still backward, soil productivity is still low, improved

implements are still too few and not widely in use, production is still conducted on a small scale. The food problem, the main concern, has not been solved satisfactorily. Agriculture has not yet been developed all-sidedly because subsidiary crops, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries are still neglected; at certain times and in some localities they are either declining or are far below the norms set in the plans. Production relations have changed but have not yet been consolidated and developed. The superiority and great role of the co-operatives in production have not yet been developed strongly and widely. Leadership is still one-sided and discontinuous. It has not yet taken into consideration the planting seasons and bases of production in the communes; and regarding the co-operatives, it has not yet followed the mass line of the Party. We have not thoroughly grasped the characteristics of the countryside and the possibilities of our tropical agriculture. In north Viet Nam the rainfall is great, but rain water is not evenly distributed in each region and season, thus floods, water-logging and drought are easily caused; typhoons sometimes occur; nature still causes many difficulties; manpower is not equally distributed between the delta — where the population is dense and the acreage of ricefields limited — and the mountain regions where the population is scattered over extensive areas. All these defects, shortcomings and objective difficulties have curbed our victory, limited the effects of the socialist economic laws, limited the rate of development of the socialist revolution in the countryside and of agricultural production. In the years to come, we have to do our utmost to overcome them energetically.

II

PUSHING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AHEAD FOR AN ALL-SIDED, POWERFUL, STEADY DEVELOPMENT, IN ORDER TO BUILD A BASIS FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALISATION

The task and direction of the First Five-Year Plan are based on the knowledge of the law of development of the stage of shifting from socialist transformation to socialist construction during the transitional period in our country. In the next five years, the northern part of our country will undertake the building of the material and technical basis for socialism, will guarantee a strong development of productive forces and an increase in the labour productivity of society in all branches of the national economy, and will guarantee the further strengthening of the country's economic and national defence forces. The material living standards of the working people will be further increased.

The new stage of development of society will be marked by the absolute hegemony of the system of socialist ownership of means of production under two forms, namely the system of people's ownership and the system of collective ownership. On this basis, and with a strong technical improvement, the development of production and raising of the people's cultural and spiritual life, we will take the North to socialism swiftly, strongly and steadfastly.

The fundamental task in the First Five-Year Plan is to develop industry and agriculture, initially give

priority to the development of heavy industry, at the same time make all-out efforts to develop agriculture all-sidedly, expand heavy industry, the food industry and transport and communications, strengthen State trade and co-operative trade, and prepare the ground for the transformation of our country into a socialist industrial and agricultural country. An all-sided, strong and steady development of agriculture is the basis for industrial expansion. In the specific conditions pertaining to our country, our standpoint and attitude towards agricultural development are that it does not contain a purely economic essence but a profound political substance. This is the standpoint and attitude concerning leadership, organisation and the encouragement of millions of people actively to take part in socialist revolution and construction and in the struggle peacefully to reunify the country. This is the stand-point and attitude concerning the supreme principle of proletarian dictatorship, namely, the worker-peasant alliance.

Therefore, in the course of the First Five-Year Plan, we must stick rigidly to the actual conditions of the period of transition in Viet Nam while striving to make a step forward in socialist industrialisation. In our country, the output of foodstuffs, agricultural products and raw materials exerts a great influence upon the rate and size of industrial construction. Practical experience gained in rehabilitation work over recent years has enabled us to affirm that the more satisfactorily agriculture develops on the basis of expanding and strengthening agricultural co-operation, the more favourable are the conditions for establishing industry. For instance, when in 1958 and

1959, the output and yield of paddy was higher than those of any previous year, it was precisely in 1959 that the rate of development of industry, handicrafts and capital construction and the volume of goods transported were the highest of all. As a result, the development of agriculture is closely connected with and exerts a direct influence upon the raising of our people's living standard.

The practical situation in Viet Nam compels us constantly to develop agriculture throughout the long period of transition, and regards this as one of the fundamental means to expand other branches of the national economy. In order to secure favourable conditions for industrial development during the first years of the First Five-Year Plan, the whole Party and the whole people will devote all their heart and soul to stepping up technical improvement, improving farm implements, developing the great role of the co-operatives, expanding State farms, and pushing forward agricultural production at a quicker and firmer pace. The rational priority development of heavy industry cannot be undertaken separately; it must be co-ordinated with the development of agriculture as the basis; at the same time great attention should be paid to light industry in order to enable these branches to supplement each other and assist one another to create the right conditions for a swift expansion of industry and to impel the whole national economy to develop rapidly. In the interest of socialist construction we must intensify on an ever greater scale every form of economic intercourse between town and countryside, between the working class and the

peasantry; we must involve the peasant masses in the work of socialist construction. At present, the development of productive forces in agriculture, the relations between industry and agriculture, the purchase of foodstuffs and a number of industrial crops and the quantity of food stocked by the State do not in the least allow us to be satisfied with the achievements recorded.

Any tendency to push forward industrialisation but to belittle and even disregard the role of agriculture, will engender a sequel most harmful to the national economy and the people's livelihood and weaken the worker-peasant alliance. On the contrary, it is also incorrect to overlook the role and leading character of industry and to rely too heavily on aid from the brother countries in equipment, machinery, chemical products, etc. This will curb the rate of technical improvement and revolution in agriculture, confine it for good within the framework of "the plough following the buffalo", and impair the worker-peasant alliance.

The task, orientation and guiding principle put forth for the Five-Year Plan for agricultural production are precisely based on the specific conditions and tremendous potentialities of our tropical agriculture, which abounds in huge natural resources and enjoys propitious conditions for its expansion.

In the First Five-Year Plan, the fundamental task of agriculture is steadily to solve the food problem and accelerate the development of other branches such as industrial crops, animal husbandry, fishery, forestry and side-occupations.

On the agricultural front, we must also speed up food production because foodstuffs absorb the greater part of the household budget of a peasant or an urban worker. Over the past years, thanks to great efforts devoted to food production, our annual paddy output has by far exceeded the pre-war level. But we did not pay due attention to and correctly encourage the production of subsidiary crops. We managed to stabilise the prices of foodstuffs during several pre-harvest shortage periods ; but in reality, at certain times and in some localities the food situation was tense, and transportation difficult. Therefore, in speaking of accelerating food production, we must constantly bear in mind the necessity to boost production of paddy as well as of other crops such as maize, sweet potatoes, cassava-root, beans and other short term crops. In localities where subsidiary crops are grown, should there be a drop in output, the people would meet with difficulties in their day to day life. Even in localities where subsidiary crops are not developed, failure, if it occurred, would also boomerang on the people's livelihood. The boost in food production will certainly create favourable conditions for the expansion of pig-breeding and poultry rearing : it is most indispensable to develop harmoniously animal husbandry and the production of fodder.

This year, the shortage of the summer crop has brought about tension on the food market in some localities. This proves that the food problem remains of great concern, and it is necessary for us to devote greater attention to finding a more suitable solution to this problem. In any case, we must not be too optimistic

over the food problem if some bumper crops are harvested successively. When planting areas permit, each region must do its best consistently to produce foodstuffs for its own use. We must constantly be guided by the idea of providing enough food for our people to eat, constituting an abundant reserve and guaranteeing appropriate stock for export.

Socialist industrialization and improvement of the people's livelihood make food production a paramount problem of permanent character. Lenin said, in substance, that the real economic basis lies with food reserves ; if there are no food stocks, there is no State power, if there are no food stocks socialist policy is only mere expectation.

Apart from the main task of solving the food problem, the political report of the Party Central Committee made it clear that in agricultural production, the development of industrial crops, animal husbandry, fish breeding and forestry must be accelerated. This is a most correct policy.

We must develop agriculture all-sidedly and establish a versatile agriculture. This is because our objective is to push socialist industrialisation a step further and build the first material and technical bases for socialism, because our objective is to develop all potentialities of the broad peasant masses and to make good use of the redundant labour left by seasonal work to increase the social wealth in order constantly to raise the people's living standard. Our objective is to promote international co-operation and supply tropical agricultural produce to the brother countries.

We have unlimited potentialities to develop agriculture all-sidedly and to establish a many-sided agriculture. This is because in our country, the climate, rainfall, and sun are propitious to cultivation during the four seasons. In acreage, we have only made use of 12 per cent of the total planting area; two-crop rice-fields cover only 44 per cent of the land cultivated the year round. We possess very good and abundant sources of supply of fodder (straw, subsidiary crops...), over 8 million hectares of forests teeming with precious woods and side-products; we have nearly 1,000 kilometres of coast and many islands, over 100 rivers, more than 40,000 lakes scattered throughout the country and over 800,000 hectares of deep ricefields suitable for fish breeding. Favoured with the above-mentioned climatic conditions and acreage, we enjoy the necessary practical possibilities to develop agriculture all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily in the field of cultivation (food crops, valuable industrial crops, fruit trees, etc.), animal husbandry, forestry, pisciculture and fishery, salt extraction, and side-occupations. We have, in particular, unlimited possibilities to grow valuable industrial crops and fruit trees. We must make use of them thoroughly and methodically.

Apart from rich natural resources, we possess an abundant manpower. In the countryside, the labouring force is great, but the acreage of arable land is limited. Each year, about one third of the labour power is left idle. The more improved are farm tools, the more abundant is the manpower employed in the exploitation of our rich natural resources; these are most worthwhile and profitable conditions and a decisive

factor in agricultural production and socialist construction in the countryside.

Owing to natural conditions and production routine, many regions in which farming is specialised have taken shape. In the value of gross agricultural output, animal husbandry accounts for about 20 per cent, and side-occupations 15 per cent. The most important branches are agriculture, fishery, vegetable oil extraction, conical hat and sun helmed making, bamboo lattice work and joinery; therefore, animal husbandry and side-occupations are very effective in speeding up the development of the productive forces of agricultural co-operatives and increasing the co-op members' income. It is obviously insufficient and impractical to rely only on agricultural in general and on rice production and some other main industrial crops in particular.

To develop agriculture all-sidedly is one of the requisite factors for the successful completion of the tasks outlined in the Five-Year Plan and conforms to its orientation. Many construction sites and factories have mushroomed everywhere in greater number. This is an objective condition which enables us easily to grasp the idea of mutual assistance between industry and agriculture under the socialist system, and have a better idea of the requirements of industry in food-stuffs, raw materials and the outlet offered by agriculture. The practical situation in our country also shows that when natural conditions bring a great influence to bear upon agricultural production, it is necessary for us to expand agriculture all-sidedly, that is, we must undertake many-sided farming. From now on, we must

make further efforts to increase food production, guarantee adequate supplies of raw materials to factories, and increase the volume of goods manufactured by the co-operatives; through the supply and marketing co-operatives and the trading branch, we must establish broader exchanges between agriculture and industry and between town and countryside, and intensify intercourse between collective economy and State economy. This is to be done in the interest of the national economy and for the sake of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and improving the people's livelihood. Let us make all possible use of and develop the potentialities of our tropical economy to create greater wealth for society, bring well-being and a joyful life to the people and intensify economic co-operation with the brother countries.

In order to develop agriculture all-sidedly we must heighten our sense of responsibility regarding the creation and expansion of the society's riches. First and foremost, we must fulfil the programme of agricultural production set by the State because it involves materials and raw materials necessary for economic construction and for exports, and staple consumer goods for the people's use. By the end of the current year, we shall basically complete the task of amalgamating the toiling peasants in lower-level agricultural co-operatives. This is a basic advantage for bringing rural agriculture under a plan on a large scale. However, owing to the vast majority of co-operatives remaining at a lower level and existing side by side with the big sector of small individual farmers, the law of value still exerts great influence, and it is necessary to apply it correctly

for the benefit of the development of production. The most important keynote in the building of a many-sided agriculture is to rely on agricultural co-operatives. Therefore, we must heighten the consciousness of the cadres, Party members and co-op members, correctly popularize the Party's and Government's guiding principle and policy regarding the development of a many-sided agriculture, make a thorough investigation in order fully to grasp the possibilities of the co-operatives in acreage, climatic conditions and farming routine, hold democratic debates among the people to dispel their worries by practical acts, and rely on the masses to set up appropriate production programmes for the co-operatives and co-op members' families. With regard to the individual farmers, we must perseveringly carry out far reaching political agitation among them, and closely co-ordinate agriculture with trade and the supply and marketing co-operatives in order correctly to solve the problems of price, purchase and supply of materials and raw materials. At the same time, we must unceasingly accelerate the movement to complete agricultural co-operation in order gradually to lessen the scope of the law of value, and broaden the scope of influence of the law of socialist economics.

In order to develop agricultural production all-sidedly, it is necessary for us to co-ordinate collective undertakings of agricultural co-operatives with the scattered undertakings of each co-op member's household side-occupations. In this work we must base ourselves on the fundamental principles of benefiting production in a rational and complete way, bringing profit to the whole of the co-operatives, and, at the

same time, giving encouragement to the co-op members. We must lead the masses pool their efforts and rely on them to do their own job. On the basis of rationally harnessing manpower and the techniques now existing in the countryside, and developing production, we will gradually improve our technique. With regard to business management, apart from developing a sense of industry and thrift among the masses, we will educate and urge them willingly to make use of all their possibilities in manpower, material resources and money, and not to depend too much on the State. Therefore, we must fully grasp the great role played by credit co-operatives, accelerate the campaign for their establishment and see this as part and parcel of the co-operation movement.

In order to accelerate the rate of socialist construction in the whole national economy, including rural economy, it is necessary to step up the rhythm of expanded re-production on the basis of completing, in the main, the co-operation movement. To this effect, apart from adequately solving the problem of food production, which takes pride of place in agriculture, we must endeavour to build up a many-sided agriculture. This is one of the fundamental principles aimed at accelerating the rate of development of agricultural production in our country. This principle also reflects the development of the objective law, because in the actual conditions of our economy, it is obvious that without a rapid, vigorous and steady progress in agriculture, there will not be the favourable conditions needed for industry to make quick, vigorous and steady steps forward. To accelerate the tempo of agricultural

development, we must speed up the rate of development of expanded agricultural re-production. For this purpose, it is necessary to intensify the accumulation of funds for agricultural production, and to this effect, apart from basically completing the movement for agricultural production, we must fully develop diversified rural economy, continue to develop the traditional industriousness of the peasant masses in order to reach our goal. This consists in developing all the possibilities offered by our land and riches and making use of all men's ability, that is, mobilising all the positive factors and finding every possible means to increase our social wealth.

To accelerate the development of agriculture all-sidedly, with the help of the brother countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, in the First Five-Year Plan, we will speed up the development of State farms, and establish new economic regions to grow tropical industrial plants (rubber trees, tea, coffee) and fruit trees, and rear cattle in order to meet the home needs and expand international co-operation. At present, industrial crops represent only a little over 3 per cent of the value of the gross agricultural output ; and agricultural products account for approximately 30 per cent of all the export items (37 per cent if forest produce is included). This is abnormally low for a rural country situated in the tropics.

It is estimated that by 1955, the planted area of State farms will cover about 4 per cent of the total acreage in north Viet Nam. This is a very small proportion. Our agricultural production relies mainly on agricultural producers' co-operatives. However, State

farms play a role of paramount importance which increases day by day because it is based on purely socialist production relations and on the advanced science and technology of the brother countries. Production carried on by State farms is an excellent basis for developing our agriculture and our economy all-sidedly, for co-ordinating cultivation and animal husbandry with processing work, and for linking industry with agriculture. This is also a most favourable basis for conducting scientific and technical research in our tropical agriculture.

State farms will develop the new economic areas of the midlands and mountainous regions, produce and supply a number of staple products to the State, especially tropical industrial crops and fruit-trees, wool and milk; at the same time they must pay great attention to growing quick-growing industrial plants, food crops and vegetables, speeding up cattle-breeding, poultry-rearing, and pisciculture, providing an adequate number of draught animals, increasing the quantity of manure, supplying produce from livestock to the State and providing a sufficient quantity of meat, fish and vegetable for their own use.

The state farms must do their utmost to develop the exemplary role and superiority of the regime of ownership by the entire people, constantly improve farm management, increase the accumulation of funds for the State, and sum up and popularise experiences among the co-operatives to help them make progress; they must study and boldly apply advanced science and technology to agriculture, make use of mechanisation, organise rational production in order constantly

to raise the productivity of cultivation and animal husbandry, supply, good seeds and good breeds, popularise technique and help the co-operatives to train cadres and specialist workers. State farms must thoroughly grasp the principle of building and running the farm industriously and frugally, "using the proceeds deriving from short-term crops to finance long-term crops", making full use of the potentialities of the soil and machinery, co-ordinating cultivation with animal husbandry, and production with process work, and abiding by the mass line in the establishment of the farms.

To fulfil the above-mentioned task is also actively to build up our economic base, strengthen national defence, eagerly develop economy in the mountain regions and improve the people's livelihood.

In order to carry out the task of agricultural development, in the Five-Year Plan, we must advance our backward agricultural production base a step further. In this respect, there are major problems which need to be solved by our joint efforts : hydraulics, technical improvement, increasing the number of crops, intensive cultivation, increase of productivity, improvement of farm implements and preliminary mechanisation in agriculture.

In north Viet Nam, the area of arable land is rather limited, and the population is growing rapidly ; the clearing of virgin land has not yet been vigorously undertaken, therefore the acreage per capita shrinks from year to year.

The proportion of planted land is still low (only about 1.4) * while our abundant manpower has not been fully employed; each year, there is one third redundant labour, while two-crop ricefields cover only 44 per cent of the planted area, though natural conditions are quite propitious for the expansion of acreage of double-crop ricefields. Another point to be noted is that the total area under cultivation has shrunk from 2,870,000 hectares in 1956 to 2,700,000 hectares in the last 3 years. For this reason, the Five-Year Plan has established the direction for actively increasing the number of crops, to reach an average norm of two crops for almost the whole planted area. This is a correct policy and an objective which must be attained by concentrated efforts through revolutionary struggle.

Owing to the difficulties arising from this year's summer crops, new elements are taking place in north Viet Nam's agriculture. The policy of "Offsetting the deficit in the summer crop by the autumn crop" set forth by the Party Central Committee has in fact been translated into material forces in the various campaigns for agricultural production waged everywhere under slogans of very active struggle. This year, throughout north Viet Nam, a quick-growing rice crop covers 60,626 hectares, which is so far the largest area grown to paddy and exceeds the 1959 figure by 15,345 hectares. This does not include the overfulfilment by many provinces of their programme of industrial crops in autumn, raising vegetables and short-term subsidiary

* Average planted land under two crops per year

crops, and co-ordinating cultivation with animal husbandry and pisciculture with a view to securing the value of gross agricultural output according to a plan. Today our valiant and painstaking farmers have harvested a bumper early autumn crop. The average per hectare yield was from 2,500 to 3,000 kilogrammes over areas covering thousands of hectares, despite the fact that people did not fully apply the method of good farming technique, intensive cultivation and other methods of yield increase.

The preliminary success achieved in this year's early autumn crop opens up a bright vista for ending the pre-harvest shortages which usually occur in April and September each year, and demonstrates the possibility of applying crop rotation. As their fond aspiration is to raise their living standard, the peasants are anxious to increase the number of crops, especially in the event of deficient harvests.

Recent experiences have shown that the linchpin in the increase of the number of crops does not lie solely in improving the peasants' backward farming routine, but in the perseverance and determination to overcome difficulties on the part of the local Party branches and cadres, who must take full consideration of the practical conditions of our agriculture and the cherished hope of the masses in order to supply more food to men, fodder to animals, and agricultural produce and raw materials to industry. The success scored in this year's early autumn crop also testifies to the correctness of the policy of increasing the number of crops and offsetting the deficit in the summer crop by the autumn crop. We must properly recapitulate

our experiences regarding leadership and technical guidance in order to expand the acreage and obtain higher yields in the coming early autumn rice crops.

The political report of the Party Central Committee emphasised the paramount importance of hydraulics, because they are the arteries of agriculture. The fundamental task of hydraulics is to provide irrigation for summer crop and autumn crop ricefields, for subsidiary crops and industrial crops as well. This is because hydraulics are but a means to create conditions for normalising cultivation and securing high yields; therefore, in order to carry through the task of irrigation and preservation of moisture, hydraulic work cannot be limited to building irrigation works only, but a comprehensive study of the soil, climate, hydrography, biological characteristics of vegetation and effects of the methods of transforming agriculture into a many-sided branch must also be carried out. Hydraulics must be closely connected with soil improvement and agricultural transformation.

In order to develop agriculture all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily, in the coming years we must actively combat drought, water-logging, soil acidity and salinity, set up a hydraulic network, improve the quality of the soil and co-ordinate the work done by the people's organisations with that of the State instrumentalities. We must combine the forces of the State with those of the people and mobilise and foster the people's force. Acceleration of hydraulic work not only benefits agricultural development, helps in the fight against drought, flood, water-logging, acidity and salinity of the soil, helps to raise productivity, increase the number of crops, expand the sown area and make greater

use of arable land, but it is also useful for the development of transport and communications, hydro-power, fish breeding, etc.

At present, the technical backwardness of our farming is conspicuous on two sides — labour productivity, and yield of plants and animal husbandry, which are in general of a very low standard. In order to accelerate technical improvement, we must find ways and means to apply extensively the chain technique, and pay keen attention to the improvement of implements to pave the way for the mechanisation of agriculture.

That is why the popularisation of the movement for the improvement of technique and implements has become the keynote to remove the sharp contradiction existing between all-sided, vigorous and steady agricultural development and backward technique, and the manpower which remains idle for certain periods of the year, but is busy during the planting season and at harvest time. We must soon find a series of perfect technical measures suitable to the concrete conditions of agricultural production in our country. The chain technique is the best method for intensive cultivation, and increased productivity in the present conditions of our agricultural production.

Improved implements exert a decisive influence on the development of agricultural production according to the principle of increasing the number of crops and clearing virgin land and to the raising of the yield of the whole planted area. The development of production of society originates from the development of productive forces which, in their turn, began first with the development of means of production, the latter

being the main forerunner of the development of the productive forces. Deep ploughing, careful harrowing, close planting, harvesting, transportation, and expansion of a many-sided agriculture, require a constant improvement of implements in order to keep abreast of seasonal requirements, reduce labour intensity, working time and production cost, and to increase accumulation of funds for the co-operatives and income for the co-op members. Co-operation and mutual assistance in the countryside have been confirmed, and socialist ideology which has blossomed on this basis, is now opening a broad path for the development of productive forces. In the countryside, there is now a pressing need for the improvement of implements in order to solve the sharp contradiction between the organisation of an advanced society and a backward technique, constantly to raise the yield per hectare, increase labour productivity and powerfully develop the superiority of the co-operatives over individual farming.

Mechanisation in agriculture is the direction and objective of the improvement of implements, and vice versa, the improvement of implements is the prerequisite, the basis, and the necessary condition for carrying out mechanisation in agriculture. This is the inevitable path of development of our agriculture. In the next five years, State farms must be mechanised and equipped with up-to-date machines; the co-operatives must increase the number of draught animals, accelerate the improvement of implements and means of transport, and make extensive use of all kinds of semi-mechanised implements in order gradually to reach the stage of complete mechanisation. Therefore

we must fight against the erroneous tendency of waiting for agricultural machinery and neglecting the movement of tool improvement. In the present conditions existing in our country, the strict application of an overall system of the chain technique and the extensive use of improved implements on the basis of co-operation, exert a great influence on the increase of labour productivity and development of agricultural production. For this reason, in the first Five-Year Plan, though equipped with a small amount of agricultural machinery, our agriculture will enjoy conditions in which to develop at a rapid pace, and to increase the productivity and yield, because it is teeming with huge potential resources which are not yet exploited or irrationally exploited and need to be fully exploited in the years to come.

The period necessary to confirm and propagate the whole system and method of the chain technique and to devise new implements, is a very difficult revolutionary period which calls for strenuous efforts. But the popularisation of the use of newly devised tools and new techniques requires efforts, spread over a long period.

It is necessary to solve the ideological problem and tirelessly fight against conservatism. To advance the pretext that "there are too many work days" and that "production costs are high" is, strictly speaking, to stand in the way of improvement of technique and implements. The good example set by responsible cadres in conjunction with front-rank youth and co-op members and technicians, brings the most convincing influence to bear on the masses; it helps us avoid

commandism and pressure in the work of popularisation, and in that way, the new technique and implements can attract the vast majority of co-op members. Only by applying the method of leadership in conformity with the Party's mass line, can we put into gear a broad movement for the improvement of technique and implements in agriculture.

Dear Comrades,

While our country is embarking on the path of socialist industrialisation, we should be well aware of the possibilities offered by our tropical agriculture and endeavour correctly to solve the problem of relations between the development of agriculture and the development of heavy and light industry in order to enable our national economy to develop harmoniously at a quick and steady tempo, and step up our work of socialist construction in the North so as to serve as a strong mainstay for the peaceful reunification of our country. We must rely on agriculture as the foundation stone, make the best use of our tropical climate, firmly solve the food problem, which is our main concern, accelerate the all-sided development of other agricultural branches and give a favourable impetus to socialist industrialisation.

In the light of the general line laid down by the Party Congress and on the basis of the satisfactory completion of agricultural co-operation and the establishment of close relations between industry and agriculture, we are sure that, in the forthcoming period, our agriculture will develop more rapidly and powerfully.

MAIN INDICES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY

(Index number 1955 : 100)

— Indices of development of the value of gross agricultural output :

1956 : 117.8 ; 1957 : 121 ; 1958 : 140.1 ; 1959 : 152.4 ;
1960 : 171.7 (Plan)

— Indices of development of the value of gross industrial output :

1956 : 197.9 ; 1957 : 273.2 ; 1958 : 319.1 ; 1959 : 414.1
1960 : 520.5 (Plan)

— Indices of development of State revenue :

1956 : 166.3 ; 1957 : 172.7 ; 1958 : 184.2 ; 1959 : 242.3 ;
1960 : 291.9 (Plan)

— Indices of capital investments :

1956 : 185.1 ; 1957 : 178.6 ; 1958 : 223.4 ;
1959 : 351.7 ; 1960 : 526 (Plan)

— Indices of freight carriage :

1956 : 165.1 ; 1957 : 182.4 ; 1958 : 281.6 ; 1959 : 548.9 ;
1960 : 576.8 (Plan)

— Indices of retail trade :

1956 : 149.4 ; 1957 : 170.6 ; 1958 : 179. ; 1959 : 196.4 ;
1960 : 217.2 (Plan)

Comparing the above-mentioned indices one with another, we realise that a high or low rate of agricultural development influences other economic branches as follows :

a) The low development of the value of gross agricultural output in 1957 compared with 1956 (121 — 117.8 or 2.7 per cent of increase) ;

— curbed the development of the value of gross industrial output in 1958 compared with 1957 (319.1 — 273.2 or 17.1 per cent of increase);

— curbed the development of capital investments in 1958; and reduced the 1957 rate compared with 1956 (178.6 — 185.1 or 6.5 per cent of decrease);

— curbed the rate of development of the State revenue in 1957 compared with 1956 (172.7—166.3 or 6.4 per cent of increase);

— curbed the rate of development of the freight carriage in 1957 compared with 1956 (182.4—165.1 or 17.3 per cent of increase);

b) On the contrary, the relatively high rates of development of the value of gross agricultural output in 1958 and 1959 were the bases which speeded up the development of other economic and financial branches at a quick rate:

— The rate of development of the value of gross industrial output in 1958 increased by 45.9 per cent compared with 1957, and in 1959 increased by 95 per cent compared with 1958.

— The rate of development of capital investments in 1958 increased by 44.8 compared with 1957 and in 1959 increased by 128.3 per cent compared with 1958.

— The rate of development of the State revenue in 1958 increased by 11.5 per cent compared with 1957, and in 1959 increased by 58.1 per cent compared with 1958.

— The rate of development of freight carriage in 1958 increased by 99.2 compared with 1957 and in 1959 increased by 167.3 compared with 1958.

— The rate of development of retail trade in 1958 increased by 8.4 per cent compared with 1957, and in 1959 increased by 17.4 per cent compared with 1958.

The foregoing data fully testify that agriculture is the basis of all economic activities and exerts a very great influence upon the whole of the national economy.

RICE YIELD IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

(UNIT : TON/HECTARE)

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Viet Nam	1.62	1.82	1.80	2.04	2.28
Burma	1.48	1.60	1.52	1.44	
Cambodia	1.14	1.19	0.98	0.91	
Malaya	1.95	2.18	2.19	2.26	
The Philippines	1.19	1.21	1.19	1.26	
Thailand	1.37	1.44	1.22	1.33	
Indonesia	1.71	1.70	1.70		

AVERAGE PER CAPITA RICE OUTPUT IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

(UNIT : KG.)

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Viet Nam	259.5	294.5	271.8	304.6	334.0
Burma	298.7	325.5	293.3	313.5	
Cambodia	260.8	253.1	
Malaya	115.2	129.4	127.4	122.7	
The Philippines	157.1	146.9	137.3	145.5	
Thailand	361.2	400.1	264.8	325.9	
Indonesia	138.1	137.0	136.4	137.4	
Japan	172.2	145.3	157.6		
India	108.2	111.2	96.3		

(According to the Statistical Year-Book published by the United Nations Organisation in 1959).

Rate of increase of agricultural production and food production in north Viet Nam compared with the main capitalist countries.

VALUE OF GROSS AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT

Let us compare the United States of America with other countries. From 1860 to 1910, American agriculture developed rapidly (period of semi-mechanisation) and the average increase was 2.5 per cent yearly. From 1910 to 1940, in 30 years (period of mechanisation) it increased 1.5 per cent yearly on an average.

FOODSTUFFS

U.S.A. : From 1950 to 1958 the yearly average increase was 2.5 per cent. In 1959 especially the production of wheat in the U.S.A. decreased sharply.

GREAT BRITAIN: From 1950 to 1958, production did not increase. On the contrary it decreased.

WEST GERMANY: From 1950 to 1958, the yearly average increase was 2 per cent.

FRANCE: From 1950 to 1958, the yearly average increase was 3.2 per cent.

JAPAN: From 1950 to 1958, the yearly average increase was 2 per cent.

IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, the rate of increase is even slower.

SOUTH VIET NAM: In former times, it was well-known for its rice exports. Now it does not produce enough foodstuffs and has to import rice.

INDIA: The situation is all the more critical. The Indian National Congress has had many discussions on the question of foodstuffs. Recently India had to buy 2,500,000 tons of rice from the U.S.A.

1 — DEVELOPMENT OF RICE PRODUCTION IN THE NORTH

Year	Planted area	Gross output	Yield per hectare	Per capita production
1939	1,840,500 ha	2,407,000 tons	1,304 Kg	211.2 Kg
1955	2,176,400 »	3,523,400 »	1,620 »	259.5 »
1956	2,284,200 »	4,135,600 »	1,810 »	294.5 »
1957	2,191,800 »	3,948,000 »	1,801 »	271.8 »
1958	2,235,000 »	4,576,900 »	2,047 »	304.6 »
1959	2,273,500 »	5,193,000 »	2,284 »	334.0 »

2 — COMPARATIVE FIGURES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RICE PRODUCTION IN THE SOUTH (1)

Year	Planting area	Gross output	Yield per hectare	Per capita production
1945	3,259,655 ha	4,300,000 tons	1,300 Kg	447 Kg
1957	2,435,000 »	3,277,000 »	1,320 »	284 »
1958	2,614,000 »	3,129,000 »	1,200 »	255 »
1959	2,450,000 »	2,940,000 »	1,200 »	234 »

(1) According to Viet Nam News Agency Bulletin Appendix issued on March 1, 1960.

**ON THE BASIS OF THE
GREAT VICTORIES ALREADY
OBTAINED, TO CONTINUE
TO PROMOTE THE MOVEMENT
FOR AGRICULTURAL
CO-OPERATION TO BUILD
THE COUNTRYSIDE**

by TRAN HUU DUC

Dear Comrades,

Agricultural co-operation is one of the fundamental laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in every country, and is one of the main revolutionary tasks of the Party of the working class.

The recent results obtained in the movement for agricultural co-operation in north Viet Nam have proved that the assessments on agricultural co-operation in the political report to the Congress were correct. Not only did the movement for agricultural co-operation develop rapidly but in addition closely combined the transformation of production relations with technical improvement and ideological education. Its profound revolutionary character gradually manifested itself not only in production and in the life in the countryside, but also in other activities and work. In spite of its shortcomings and weaknesses, the movement for agricultural co-operation in the countryside is a genuinely broad mass movement; it is developing and consolidating, and gradually proving its superiority in other fields as compared with individual farming. This is the basis on which to continue to bring forward and heighten the movement for agricultural co-operation, ensuring the achievement of the task laid down by the Congress in regard to agriculture and the countryside in the period to come.

* * *

Over recent years, from the broad development of work-exchange teams and socialist style producers' collectives, we advanced towards setting up the experimental agricultural producers' co-operatives, fishermen's co-operatives and salt workers' co-operatives, towards the training of cadres, then towards the gradual enlargement of the movement for co-operation. Since the end of 1958, when the Central Committee issued instruction on the organisation of co-operatives, and later when the 16th Session of the Central Committee decided on agricultural co-operation, the movement for agricultural co-operation in the countryside has developed rapidly. By the end of June 1960, in two years only, in north Viet Nam more than half the number of peasant households, fishermen and salt workers had joined agricultural producers' co-operatives (55%), fishermen's co-operatives (54.99%) and salt workers' co-operatives (50.9%), and this year co-operation of a lower type will basically be completed, from 70 to 75 per cent of households in the countryside taking part in co-operatives. In the delta, up to now, almost all the villages have had agricultural producers' co-operatives; in several provinces more than one third or half the number of communes have basically completed co-operation of a lower type, some provinces have basically completed fishing and salt making co-operation. In the mountainous regions and in regions inhabited by Catholics, in spite of the complex situation in some localities, co-operatives also developed in almost all the communes, and many hamlets and communes have basically completed co-operation of a lower form. At present the work of

developing and strengthening co-operatives in the Autumn drive for basically completing agricultural co-operation of a lower form is continuing and has obtained good initial results.

Not only did the movement develop broadly, but the scale of organisation of the co-operatives was also larger than before. When the first experimental co-operatives were set up at the end of 1955, they comprised 13 households on an average; in 1958, the co-operatives included 26 households and now 44; a fishing co-operative has 48 and a salt workers' co-operative 33. In the course of the development of lower-type co-operatives, many localities have attempted to set up a number of higher-type co-operatives (involving 3.95 % of the households in June); while building medium-size and small-type co-operatives, big co-operatives including 200 or 300 households were also tried out. This is a good basis on which to study and draw experiences, and to bring forward the movement of co-operation advantageously.

Together with the development of agricultural producers' co-operatives, supply and marketing co-operatives and loan co-operatives also developed quite extensively. By the end of June 1960, the supplying and marketing co-operatives included 242 bases with 1,771,286 members, the loan co-operatives 4,321 bases with 1,091,972 members.

A noticeable factor in the recent situation is that the movement of agricultural co-operation has been closely combined with that of technical improvement and of production. From the end of 1958, simultaneously with the development of co-operatives, technical measures have been widely popularised and

successfully applied, and since then, through the work of summing up, the chain technique methods have been substantiated as correct. Up to now, in spite of the ups and downs in the movement for technical improvement in the countryside, the agricultural producers' co-operatives have proved to be the leading force in every field: adequate supplies of water, deep ploughing, abundant use of manure, thick transplanting, etc., even the improvement of farm implements. Thanks to technical improvement, the co-operatives have obtained high yields and contributed to pushing forward the production movement in general. In 1939, the annual average output of paddy per hectare in the whole North was only 13 quintals, it was impossible to think of a higher yield; but since the establishment of co-operatives, an output of 30, 40 and even 50 quintals is quite common, and there are co-operatives which can yield as much as 61 quintals per hectare. The general average yield in north Viet Nam in 1959 reached 20.7 quintals for the summer crop and 24.13 quintals for the autumn crop, the yearly production was more than 5,190,000 tons of paddy. The yield of subsidiary and industrial crops also increased.

Besides cultivation, the "building of an agriculture having many products and trades" including animal breeding, fishing, forestry, side occupations in accordance with the Central Committee's guiding principle has also obtained good initial results and manifestly contributed to the increase of the co-operative members' income. Due to the requirement of the co-operation movement, regional industries have been built and developed in almost all the provinces. The boundless

potentialities of plains and fields, forests and mountains, rivers and seas are being successfully exploited by the collective force of the co-operatives in order to serve socialism and raise the living standards of the working people in general and of the peasants in particular.

As for fishery, the movement for improving boats and fishing-nets, and finding other trades in accordance with the guiding principle "strongly to push forward coastal fishing, to develop fishing in the open sea, to fish all round the year, to develop many trades" is gradually enlarging. Thanks to the use of big boats and large fishing-nets, some co-operatives have had catches 4-10 times greater than before.

Thanks to the initial development of production, the living standards of co-operative members, peasants, fishermen and salt workers have gradually increased. The capital set aside by many co-operatives for production, their accumulation funds and common welfare fund have increased more than before but the level is still very low. Attention has also been paid to capital construction in the countryside in general and in co-operatives in particular. The liquidation of illiteracy, the providing of supplementary education, the movement of literature and art, physical culture and hygiene, the organisation of nurseries, maternity homes, etc., have gradually developed and been closely linked with the activities of the co-operatives.

During the process of productive labour, the level of management of the co-operatives in planning work, statistics, book keeping, etc., has gradually risen. At the beginning, the majority of co-operatives knew only

how to record work-points, now, according to still incomplete figures, 61 per cent of co-operatives have realised piece-work. Though the level of the management of co-operatives is still low, as the greater number of co-operatives had only passed through one or two crops, the above-mentioned results have a great significance. It shows that through real struggle, the cadres and co-operative members were gradually fostered and raised their level in every field: ideology, technique, profession and culture, and showed their ability in the management of a new economy and in the building of a new countryside.

In the work of leading the co-operation movement in the countryside, we particularly stressed the correct implementation of line, policy and principle in organising co-operatives, in which the implementation of the slogan "to rely entirely on the poor and lower middle peasants, to unite closely with middle peasants" in the delta, and the slogan "to rely entirely on hired fishermen and poor fishermen, to unite closely with ordinary fishermen..." along the coast was the most fundamental problem. The class line must fully grasp the work of organising, developing and consolidating co-operatives as well as in that of production, distribution, and other undertakings. Recent facts have clearly shown that only by correctly implementing the line, policy and principle, first of all by correctly applying the slogan "to rely entirely on the poor and lower middle peasants, on hired and poor fishermen," by admitting them into the co-operatives so that they may become the nucleus force of the co-operatives, and on this basis by admitting other working peasants and

fishermen, can we ensure the strong and firm development of the co-operation movement.

The co-operatives which have stood firm through the arduous tests and trials of the 1958-1959, 1959-1960 Winter-Spring crops were those which had succeeded in building up the poor peasant and lower middle-peasant forces into a firm core and where Party members and members of the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union were determined to build and consolidate the co-operatives. The same thing applied over the implementation of policies, guiding principles, etc. One of the main cause for the present weak activity of the co-operatives and over which many questions still remain unsolved, is the incorrect and incomplete carrying out of these lines, policies and principles. The process of implementing the lines, policies and principles of organisation of the co-operatives is not a simple one, but it is in practice a permanent, arduous and complicated struggle until the fulfilment of the task. Besides, in the process of guiding the agricultural co-operation, close co-ordination between development and consolidation of the co-operatives, between transformation of production relations and building up of productive forces (including technical improvement and ideological education), are all big problems. Recent practice has also proved that where and when the conception of these problems was one-sided and mechanical, there and then the movement for co-operation and production met with difficulties.

The recent success of the movement for agricultural co-operation is undoubtedly a big political success of a decisive character in the socialist transformation

of agriculture, and is also the basis for the big successes already scored in production. This is the success of the correct application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the revolutionary practice in Viet Nam, and of the correct lines and policies on agricultural co-operation put forth by the Party Central Committee. This is also the success of the labouring peasants in the North on the path to socialism and in the struggle for national unification under the leadership of the working class Party.

We re-affirm that the recent movement for agricultural co-operation to build up the countryside has been basically well carried out, is sound and is obviously experiencing an upward trend. But on the other hand, its shortcomings, weak points and the difficulties it encounters cannot be belittled. At present the question that occupies so much of our attention is that though the co-operation movement is developing quickly, production has not yet been stepped up. There are still places which have not as yet well implemented the class line and policies. Management of co-operatives is, in general, of a low level, even too low in some places. The movement for technical improvement of tools as well as of methods of production is not enough strong and continuous. The capital of the co-operatives is still small in general. The supremacy of the co-operatives, though already obvious, is for the most part manifest in only a few aspects. The members' confidence in the co-operatives, their consciousness as masters of the co-operatives and their enthusiasm in production, though already heightened, are not yet sufficiently so. Particularly, there is still too great a waste of labour forces and work

time, labour productivity is still too low. There are still questions outstanding to a greater or lesser degree concerning relations inside the co-operatives and between the co-operatives and the State. Though they have realised that the co-operation is the only correct path, a number of peasants—particularly the upper middle peasants—are not yet quite determined to join the co-operatives, because in many localities they are still meeting with difficulties.

Besides, an especially weak point of the agricultural co-operation movement for the time being is that the ability of the rural cadres does not as yet meet the requirements of leadership of the co-operatives. The low cultural level of the majority of them has a bad effect on the raising of their political, professional and technical level. Conservatism, reliance on others and lack of enthusiasm in surging forward on the part of a number of cadres, Party members and co-op members are hampering the carrying out of agricultural co-operation, the speeding up of production and other activities.

Among the above-mentioned weak points and difficulties there are questions that arise from the backwardness of agriculture itself, but there are also questions that come from mistakes in work which will need to be fought against for a long time. However, to impel the co-operation movement more strongly and higher we cannot give up trying by every means to overcome these difficulties, weak points and shortcomings.

Both the past situation and the new tasks demand that we pay more adequate and fuller attention to the movement for agricultural co-operation, agricultural

production and building of the countryside. During the period of economic transformation and development, we have highlighted the mobilisation for agricultural co-operation and agricultural production, considered agricultural co-operation as the main link in the whole work of socialist transformation in the North and based ourselves on the successes obtained in this mobilisation to push up the development of agricultural production and other activities. In the coming first Five-Year Plan, we will switch the centre over to socialist construction and we will at the same time continue to complete socialist transformation. In the countryside, agricultural production will continue to be highlighted and accelerated to serve as a firm base for socialist industrialisation. Though having scored successes of a decisive character, the mobilisation for agricultural co-operation still has to go on further.

As is pointed out in the Political Report, the process of carrying out socialist revolution in the North is a process of revolutionary change in every aspect aimed at advancing the North from an economy based mainly on individual ownership of means of production to socialist economy based on ownership by the entire people and collective ownership, from a regime of small production to one of big socialist production, from a state of scattered and backward economy to an harmonious and modern economy enabling the North to make rapid progress and become an ever firmer base for the struggle for national unification. In the countryside, after the basic completion of lower-type co-operation, we must "achieve the transformation of

production relations in agriculture, complete lower-type co-operation, advance all the co-operatives from lower type to higher type, and merge small scale higher type co-operatives into big co-operatives". Simultaneously, after the basic completion of lower-type co-operation and the advance to higher type and large scale co-operatives, the question of making the co-operatives completely superior in production and livelihood will become all the more pressing. In recent years, the task of transforming production relations has ranked first, in the coming period, chiefly in the first years of the first Five-Year Plan this task will still remain important. Its revolutionary character of prime importance will not be as yet diminished. On the other hand, we must make our first steps in technical revolution in agriculture and further speed up the development of production. Consequently, in the whole process of the Five-Year Plan, as far as agriculture is concerned we must consider the development of production as the central task, but in the first years, we must take special care to continue completing the transformation of production relations in close co-ordination with the development of production, using them as the key to consolidate and raise higher the type of the co-operatives. Only by constantly consolidating and raising higher the type of the co-operatives can we create bases for an ever developing production. If co-operatives which have basically completed the lower-type form and are continuing to move higher, do not speed up development of production, do not take development of production as their main content, do not increase their means of production, do not strive

to improve technique, do not increase productivity, do not develop the many-sided production in their co-operatives, do not increase their accumulation funds and the real income of their members, then they will not be able to consolidate and enhance the co-operation movement. The transformation of production relations and the development of productive forces cannot be parted from each other. Therefore all tendencies to minimise either the task of transforming production relations or that of development of production are wrong, and will hamper the agricultural co-operation movement, and the building of a socialist countryside.

Our target in the Five-Year Plan as is pointed out in the Political Report to the Congress is that we must, on the basis of a firm settlement of the food question and the stepping up of an all-sided agricultural development, increase the real income of the co-operatives, thus enabling the majority of the co-op members to reach and surpass the present income of the well-to-do middle peasants. This is at the same time a political task aimed at proving the absolutely superior possibilities of the co-operatives as compared with individual style of work and the supremacy of the regime in the North over that in the South. It is also an economic task, aimed at struggling to provide the co-operatives with full conditions for production which are as good as and even better than those of the upper middle peasants, and on this basis to increase production, catch up with and surpass the living standard of these middle peasants. To implement well the agricultural task in the Five-Year Plan, and to give full significance

to the fact that agriculture is the basis, we must first of all firmly grasp and reach this target.

The fusion of small scale co-operatives into big ones is an objective demand of the mobilisation for agricultural co-operation in order to suit the forces of production in the ever-growing agricultural field, and chiefly to meet the demand of mechanisation and construction of a socialist countryside. The practical experiences in the brother socialist countries and in our country have proved to the truth of this. Therefore, according to our previsions, in the Five-Year Plan, the whole North will basically complete the fusion of high level small scale co-operatives into big co-operatives of the size of a whole hamlet and up to a whole commune.

According to conditions available, fishing co-operatives will be developed into big ones which will each take charge of an estuary, a fishing port or a whole village.

As for the objects of these future big co-operatives' activities, they have been pointed out in the Political Report in these terms: "These big co-operatives will not only embark on agriculture and manage the rural credit service but also build a number of indispensable local industrial enterprises as and when they can be built." As to agriculture not only will the co-operatives develop various kinds of plantations growing rice, subsidiary crops, industrial plants, fruit trees, etc., but they will also strongly develop stock breeding, fishing, pisciculture, afforestation, exploitation of forest products, handicrafts, and side-occupations, and not only will collective production within the co-operatives be

developed, but the co-op members' families' side-occupations will be also increased to a greater extent more than before. With regard to local industries, the co-operatives will develop such branches and trades as directly serve agriculture, first and foremost which serve the needs of development of agriculture, and the needs of development of the co-operatives themselves and their localities, this being done with due estimation of available raw materials, consumption capacity, and technical abilities and with the careful distribution of responsibility and proper organisation in all aspects. As for the rural credit service, co-operatives will unify the management of credit co-operatives, and the management of the mobilisation of capital and saving. The unification of the management of trade is still out of the question, but can be tried out. Together with the development of production, the accumulation fund, that is to say the fund which is not to be distributed to the co-op members, must be increased in order further to develop production: for example, to buy more farm implements, construct hydraulic works, use more fertilizers and intensify stock breeding, etc. The co-operatives will set apart not only five per cent downward, but gradually from twelve per cent to fifteen per cent of their real income to build this accumulation fund. At the same time, on the basis of production being developed, the organisation of various public utilities within the co-operatives will be gradually improved. The material and cultural living conditions of the co-op members will be bettered a step further as compared with their present living standards.

The completion of agricultural co-operation, and the taking of co-operatives to an advanced type on a larger scale, is a complicated organisational task requiring economic management, at the same time requiring a wide political mobilisation in the countryside. Once having gone over to an advanced type on a larger scale and the unification of the various undertakings being accomplished, the co-operatives organisational and technical activities will be extended largely, and therefore the ideological, technical, professional and cultural level of the cadres must definitely be higher before they assume their responsibilities. Therefore, to secure the satisfactory going over of the co-operatives from a lower stage to a higher stage, and to secure an increase of production and income, the Political Report has said: "Simultaneously with the intensification of ideological education within the agricultural co-operatives, particular attention must be paid to the strengthening of managerial work, organisation of labour, technique, popular use of improved and semi-mechanised implements, intensification of hydraulic works and transformation of the quality of the soil, in order to ensure a constant increase in the co-op members' income, and of the co-operatives' accumulation funds, thereby giving the co-operatives an ever stronger economic basis." At present, in these fields, our work has been making progress, but it must be bettered and intensified much more.

In political and ideological work we have laid down that the consciousness of being masters of the co-operatives must be heightened in the minds of the co-op members in order that all consider the

co-operatives as their own families, and that their sense of collectivity may be raised, etc. These educational objects are very correct, and very necessary. We must act in such a way that this consciousness of being masters on the part of the co-op members may be translated into actual acts expressed in productive labour, in construction and in the determination to progress, in daring to think and to act, in overcoming all difficulties and fighting natural calamities in order to increase production and improve the people's livelihood. It is also on the basis of this consciousness of being masters that the sense of unity and solidarity may be raised within the co-operatives, among the co-op members and between the co-op members and the managing board, and that the spirit of solidarity between co-op members and non co-op members may be heightened, and the notion of responsibility of the co-operatives in the implementation of the Party's and State's policies and plans may be enhanced. We must criticize the negative signs which still exist such as conservative ideas, dependence on others, one-sided calculation of loss and gain, not daring to invest labour and capital in production, unmethodical and slack style of work, etc. This time the educational work must manage to reach the aim which consists in translating thoughts into acts, creating a prevailing atmosphere of ceaseless competitive labour in all co-operatives.

With regard to the management of co-operatives, we must continue to sum up the experiences newly gained in this work in order further to improve our managerial level. We must affirm that if the management of co-operatives is not improved with each

passing day, if the working out of plans and their implementation for each crop or each year and the working out of long-term plans, the distribution of labour, the keeping of accounts and recording of statistics are not done methodically, and there is not a definite regime (particularly a regime for democratic management), a regime of publicly-rendered accounts and close control, the development of the collective forces of the co-operatives will be restricted and the increase of production and income will meet with difficulties. Naturally, at a time when the co-operatives are beginning to develop, the managerial experience is poor, we cannot raise the managerial level of the co-operatives within a short time, but with the present development of the co-operation movement, this question can be actively pushed forward. Therefore, in the near future, we must consider the raising of the managerial level of the co-operatives as an important task which needs a concentration of forces, in order that in the future we shall gradually be able to make the activities of the co-operatives a firm habit. In order to solve this question, besides the ideological work which must be put to the fore, we must attach great importance to the development of the co-operatives' democratic and collective inner life and have particular concern for the fostering and training of cadres for co-operatives in every respect.

In hydraulic work and technical improvement, we have recently made noticeable efforts, but they are not yet up to requirements. In the Five-Year Plan to come, in order to take co-operatives to a higher level and develop agriculture more strongly so as to create

a firm basis for socialist industrialisation, there must necessarily be a change in this matter, to be brought about by setting up bases for hydraulic work and beginning to implement the technical revolution in agriculture. In hydraulic work, the recent state of things has shown clearly that if we cannot ensure irrigation, the question of foodstuffs cannot be solved steadily and the development of many trades will meet with difficulties. We must have enough water not only for rice, but also for subsidiary crops, industrial plants and other trees. To solve this problem, the only one way is to mobilise the masses to dig and build canals more quickly and more extensively. Not only must a man dig 15 cubic metres yearly as at present, he must dig scores of cubic metres, even hundreds of cubic metres. To rely on the forces of the co-operatives is the main thing, at the same time the State must invest more capital and build new works. With regard to technical improvement, a movement must be launched for the improvement of farm implements, the suppression of rudimentary implements, wide popularisation of improved implements, first of all ploughs, harrows, means of transport, boats, fishing nets, and other implements ; we shall gradually start using semi mechanical implements and afterwards we shall proceed to initial mechanisation (in the framework of the Five-Year Plan, 10 per cent of the planting area of the co-operatives will be mechanised). At present simultaneously with the improvement of implements, we must solve the question of pulling forces, popularise the ploughing by means of two buffaloes or oxen harnessed to one plough, take care of draught animals, and

at the same time set up teams of tractors thus paving the way for the establishment of a number of agricultural machine stations on an experimental basis. As for the method of production, we must continue to apply the combined technique and carry out experiments in order to sum up experiences and widely popularise efficient methods of ploughing, harrowing, manuring, increasing crops, planting many crops on the same land and at the same time, transforming the quality of the soil, etc. But in order to speed up the above-mentioned work, the key problem is also the heightening of the people's consciousness and determination, drawing practical experiences from the past, fighting conservative ideas, mobilising the spirit of daring in thought and action, and preparing the launching of a movement in which the toiling masses will struggle strongly. The satisfactory implementation of ideological work, the work of management of co-operatives, hydraulic work and technical improvement will be the basis for the development of the huge forces of the co-operatives and the potentialities of our soil, rivers, seas and mountains. The co-operatives must be led to sincere solidarity and good production; not only are there many working days in a year (the goal of our present effort is to reach an average of 280 working days in a year, and within a working day we will be able to do many more things, thus pushing forward all kinds of activities of the co-operatives a step further — all-out agricultural production, increase of crops, land reclamation, rural construction—so that the countryside will undergo a radical change, and advance more rapidly and strongly in every field. This

is the direction of our struggle and is also the future of the socialist countryside.

In order to fulfil all the above-mentioned tasks, we must go back to another important problem which is the training and fostering of cadres in politics, technique, profession and culture. This problem has recently come to light, and endeavour has been made to solve it but the result is still limited. Generally speaking, at present, there is a shortage of cadres. This shortage is all the more acute in co-operatives. A preliminary estimation has shown that when the co-operatives advance to higher level, not only are tens of thousands of co-operatives' managers and deputy-managers to be trained to be able to lead big co-operatives, but in addition hundreds of thousands of cadres are to be trained to take charge of production teams, of the planning service, accountancy, statistics and technique, etc. In this training work cultural training for the cadres is a problem which must be solved first and foremost in order to create conditions enabling rural cadres, especially those who are poor peasants, lower middle peasants, hired fishers and poor fishermen, to assimilate better technique and craft. This mass-training of cadres is above the capacities of any single branch and requires the co-ordination of many branches, it is the work of the central organs as well as of the local ones. At present, this understanding has not yet been fully grasped. In the light of the political report regarding the training of cadres for co-operatives, we call on the leadership and the various branches to pay special attention to it. Hitherto, although cadres have striven hard, especially rural cadres and Party members who

have overcome many difficulties in carrying out their work and scored great achievements, the low cultural level of these cadres has limited the fulfilment of the tasks set to the villages and co-operatives. In the near future, if more efforts are not brought to settling this problem, we shall be swayed too much by the needs of the moment and become more entangled, thus failing to boost the co-operative movement further.



Together with the shifting of co-operatives to a higher type and on a wider scale, north Viet Nam's agriculture, from consisting of small, backward and primitive enterprises will gradually become a wide-scale agriculture provided with modern machinery and big hydraulic systems. To reach this end, we must struggle for a longer time. At present, putting into practice the general law of correlation between production relations and the character of the productive forces, we must do our best to push ahead production in every field, promote the socialist construction of the North and intensify our struggle for national reunification.

In order to bring about a radical change in the countryside and agriculture, boost agricultural co-operation and production, we propose to strengthen the leadership at all levels in every branch, enhance the Party members and cadres' responsibility, and organise a strict working method from the central organs downward. The leadership from interzonal, provincial and town levels downward is requested to

concentrate its main forces in co-operation and production. All branches of activity of the Party, the State and the people, especially those dealing with agriculture and water conservancy, must further study, lead technique and work execution, and guide and help the co-operatives in a more concrete way. We also propose to replenish the organs which help the leadership study and control the work in the countryside, both in the understanding of their task and in the nomination of good cadres, and the close guidance of these organs.

At last, we propose to pay attention to training cadres at village level to help them draw up an overall plan on co-operation, production, construction, etc., and resolutely struggle to implement it. Party members must set good examples, enhance the collective leadership of the Party cell, and foster such leading cadres as are apt to grasp the work of co-operation and production. We propose that not only the district leadership, but also the provincial leadership should look after the village level, and give every assistance to the Party leadership and Party cell in order to enable them overcome all difficulties, and map out a correct plan and schedule of work. They must also take in hand the leadership in every field, and pay careful attention to the tasks set by the various branches to the village for execution.

Now that our country is still temporarily divided in two zones, we must at the same time work for the socialist construction in the North and struggle for national reunification, and must also take part in the anti-imperialist movement and the defence of peace. Our revolutionary task is very heavy. So is that in the

agricultural countryside. We must struggle within a short space of time to transform the backward state in the countryside and in agriculture, build a new well off, beautiful, cheerful and healthy countryside endowed with culture and progress in every field. We have to cope with many difficulties, but the opportunities are very great too. We are confident that after this Congress, in the light of its lines and policies, the big creative forces of the working peasant masses will be undoubtedly developed, thus bringing about an overall, strong and steady movement in the countryside, which will ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of all the revolutionary tasks set forth.

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
ACCUMULATION AND
CONSUMPTION, AND
DILIGENT AND ECONOMICAL
BUILDING OF THE COUNTRY**

by HOANG ANH

Dear Comrades,

I fully approve the political report and the supplementary report on the tasks and directions of the First Five-Year Plan. Now I will speak about the problem of relationship between accumulation and consumption, about the need for industriousness and thrift in national construction, and in the building of co-operatives.

I — After the restoration of peace and the complete liberation of the North, our people, under the leadership of our Party, heroically worked to overcome all difficulties to fulfil the plan for economic rehabilitation and cultural development and are striving to successfully fulfil the Three-Year Plan for economic transformation and development, and cultural development. The features of the North have been changing constantly for the better and the people's livelihood has improved further. The achievements obtained are the manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system in the North.

From 1955 to 1959 the average annual increase of industrial and agricultural output was 18.4 per cent, that of agricultural output alone 11.2 per cent and of industrial output alone 42.7 per cent. Taking the figure for 1955 as 100, the total value of industrial and agricultural output in 1959 was 196.4, that of agricultural output alone was 142.4 and that of industrial output alone 414; and State industry in 1959 was

16.3 times greater than in 1955. As industrial and agricultural production developed, the circulation of goods was expanded and national income increased, the State sources of revenue were also rapidly increased. Taking the figure for the total State Financial Revenue in 1959 as 100, that for 1955 was 242, an average annual increase of more than 24.8 per cent. Of all the sources of revenue of the Budget (excluding foreign aid and loans), State enterprises are gradually getting into the first place. Revenue taken from the benefit of State enterprises in 1955 made up 14.5 per cent of the total revenue; the figure reached 75.2 per cent in 1959. On the other hand, the revenue from direct taxes paid by the people has shown a continuous decrease. In 1955 it was 76.2 per cent of the total revenue. This percentage dropped to 21.2 per cent in 1959.

State Financial Revenue in 1957 represented 20.9 per cent and in 1958, 21.6 per cent, and in 1959, 24.9 per cent of the national income. Both the overall figure as well as the percentage channelled into the budget compared with the national income increased at a fairly quick rate. But until 1959, the part channelled into the budget was only approximately 24.9 per cent of the national income. This is not a high percentage. The revenue of the State budget is still very limited in relation to the demands of development of economy and culture.

As we had to set out from a too low starting-point, great efforts must be made to build our country from a ravaged, backward, agricultural economy into an economy endowed with modern industry and modern agriculture. To carry out this heavy and glorious

task, we must do everything to ensure a rapid development of the financial resources of the State. This is an inevitable demand in the process of industrialisation of the country. The scale and speed of national construction depend for a great part on the ability to accumulate State financial resources and their good use. Experiences of recent years have proved that only on the basis of developed industrial and agricultural production and ever-increasing labour productivity and increased national income can State financial resources enjoy conditions for increasing steadily and quickly ; and in their turn, increased State financial resources will help develop industrial and agricultural production, increase the possibilities for improving the people's livelihood and increase socialist accumulation.

Over recent years, in addition to the revenue obtained from sources within the country, generous, selfless and very great aid has been granted to us by the brotherly socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. This aid has helped us to tide over many difficulties in the rehabilitation and development of economy and culture. Aid and loans amounted to 38.6 per cent of the budget in 1955, 37.4 per cent in 1957 and only 17.7 per cent in 1959. On an average, they have made up 30 per cent of the State revenue over the past few years.

The aid given to us by the socialist countries is very great, but its percentage of the budget has decreased year after year, while the percentage of home revenue has increased. This shows that our people have made great efforts to supply the State with financial resources and is proof of the successes scored by our

people in the rehabilitation and development of economy and culture. These successes cannot be considered apart from the wholehearted and great aid of the brother countries.

With this aid and these loans, we have imported equipment and machines for national construction and expansion of production, and also materials, spare-parts, raw materials, and consumer goods.

At the beginning of the period of economic restoration and development, we had to spend part of the aid and loans on importing raw materials, materials and consumer goods. But this was only a temporary measure to satisfy home demands. The fundamental and long range measures are to develop production, practise economy, increase the varieties of goods for export, and strictly control and limit the use of foreign currency.

We must strive to balance exports with imports of consumer goods, raw materials, materials and spareparts, reserve the aid and loans for importing equipment, and gradually raise our exports to meet the growing demand in imports, and even obtain a favourable balance in foreign trade.

Only in this way can we make full use of the great aid of the brother countries, strengthen our self-reliance and at the same time actively widen economic co-operation with the brother countries.

2 — Over recent years, State revenue was mainly intended for economic construction and cultural development, whereas expenditure on Administrative services and National Defence have been continuously cut down: 45 per cent of the budget was reserved for

economic and cultural development in 1955, 64 per cent in 1957 and 68.6 per cent in 1960. In 1956, we spent 45.4 per cent of the budget on Administrative services and National Defence and 31.5 per cent in 1957, but only 24.5 per cent in 1960. Capital construction in 1957 occupied 37 per cent of the budget, and in 1959, 49.9 per cent.

The above-mentioned figures are proof of our people's efforts to increase the accumulation of State funds; and the determination of our Party and Government to reserve funds for development of production, economy and culture. Therefore economy in north Viet Nam has been developed at an unprecedented rate. Within a period of five years, the total output of modern industry had by 1959 increased 7.2 times over that of 1955, and the output of State industry 16 times. The rice yield in 1959 was 2.1 times over that of 1955. Enrolment in general education schools in 1959 increased more than 6 times over as compared with 1955, and the number of students in higher education in 1959 was approximately 8 times that of 1955. These good results prove that the distribution and utilisation of State finance over the past period were correct. If formerly, some people did not agree with the Party and the Government spending much capital on building factories, irrigation systems and State farms ; now everybody recognises that when a factory, an irrigation system, or a State farm is built, not only does our wealth increase several times over, but thousands of people obtain employment.

Socialist industrialisation requires enormous expenditure. Our people's efforts in recent times have

been indispensable. Without great efforts from the whole Party and the entire people in the accumulation of State funds, and the practice of thrift to provide investments in production the present successes could not have been achieved. In the coming years, as agricultural and industrial production are expected to develop quickly, we shall have to exert still greater efforts to ensure the stability of financial resources, and at the same time we must be thrifty over expenditure on Administrative services and National Defence, so that more funds may be earmarked for economic construction and cultural development. While we have to ensure the good working of the State machinery and the strengthening of National Defence, we must at the same time increase the ratio of budgetary expenditure on economic and cultural development.

It is necessary to reserve about 50 per cent of the budget for capital construction alone. Rapidly growing funds for capital construction are effective in promoting production and the development of all economic and cultural activities. Besides, experiences have proved that the distribution of the budget not only has to satisfy the demands of accumulation but also the growing demands of consumption and social welfare. A too rapid increase of funds for capital construction may to a certain degree, create disequilibrium in national economy and may be the source of great waste. Besides the funds allocated for capital construction, the State budget has to grant an adequate sum for the circulating fund and for the reserve of materials. An insufficient circulating fund cannot guarantee normal activities of the branches of national economy. But if

the circulating funds are too big, they will create stagnation of funds and limit the possibilities of raising State funds for capital construction or for reserve of materials. The management of circulating funds requires a rapid circulation of funds, and the utilisation of small capital while ensuring healthy and balanced economic activities. In recent years, great care has been taken to allot more and more funds to the State's reserve of materials. Without an adequate stock of necessary materials and without a plan for their distribution and good utilisation, we cannot meet the demands of development of production in good time. Our developed economy requires from the State a bigger reserve of materials, good organisation and strict management, so as to ensure the rapid and harmonious development of our economy.

Total accumulation funds (including funds for capital construction, circulating funds and funds for reserve of materials, in 1955 occupied 43 per cent of the State budget, in 1957, 55 per cent, and in 1959, 61.7 per cent. According to the Central Statistical Board, the ratio of accumulation and consumption in relation to national income, including accumulation by the people, co-operatives and the State budget is as follows :

	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>
National income	100	100	100
Accumulation funds	11	14.5	17.3
Consumption funds	89	85.5	82.7

In 1959, the proportion of accumulation represented in the budget was 60 per cent, but among the

people it was only 17.3 per cent, because accumulation funds of the people and co-operatives were too small. According to investigation, accumulation funds for expanded reproduction in the co-operatives occupy only from 1 to 3 per cent of the total income of co-operation. In some co-ops there is almost no accumulation fund at all ; in others, one month's accumulation fund is used in the next month. Many co-operatives are meeting with difficulties in improving the means of production, because they have not paid attention to accumulating funds for expanded production and because they are not accustomed to utilising accumulation funds. This has limited the possibilities of developing production in the co-operatives. While the socialist transformation is not yet completed, production not yet stabilised and, moreover, the first steps in setting up co-operatives are still meeting with many difficulties, the possibilities of accumulation are still very limited.

To date, more than 54.7 per cent of the whole peasantry, 70 per cent of handicraftsmen and 49 per cent of small traders have joined co-operatives, and before long, we shall be able to complete the work of co-operation in the main. To consolidate and strengthen socialist production relations and simultaneously make propaganda, mobilise everyone enthusiastically to engage in production and highlight labour enthusiasm in building the co-operatives, we must endeavour to explain matters to the cadres and people in order to help them clearly see the necessity of enlarging production so that they will make further efforts in accumulating funds and satisfactorily utilising the accumulation funds of the co-operatives.

Not only should attention be given to accumulation in the State budget, but also to increasing the accumulation funds of the co-operatives. It is said in the political report of the Central Committee to this Party Congress, "To ensure the success of socialist construction in the North, we must correctly solve the problem of the relationship between the accumulation of capital and the improvement of living standards. We maintain that there must be an appropriate relationship between accumulation and consumption, that is to say, a relationship conforming to both economic and political requirements of each period, guaranteeing both the development of socialist economy in the North at a high rhythm and the constant improvement of the life of the people in keeping with the development of production."

Comparing the accumulation and the percentage of accumulation with the national income, everybody thinks that the proportion of accumulation is too small. But when one considers the low standard of living of our people and cadres, one is more likely to say, "We must reduce accumulation and increase consumption."

Our production level is still low and the people are still meeting with many difficulties, so we cannot accumulate much. So what is to be done in order properly to settle the relationship between accumulation and consumption?

At present, while our productive forces are still low, and labour productivity is increasing slowly, social products are too limited compared with the demands of the people's material and cultural life, so it is difficult

to keep an appropriate proportion between accumulation and consumption. Early in 1959, the output of modern industry in terms of value was only 12.5 per cent of the aggregate value of industry, agriculture and handicrafts; while the average area per capita of the rural population is less than 1,000 square metres. Faced with this situation the question is how is our people's diligence to be put to the best use in order to create more material wealth, and how should the products be used in the most beneficial way for production and the people's livelihood. Only on the basis of ever-growing production, of increased labour productivity and of good utilisation of social products, can the possibilities exist of increasing socialist accumulation and at the same time to improving the living conditions of the people in a steady and lasting manner.

At present, in the Northern part of our country, only two fifths of the population participate in productive labour; the number of productive working days of a co-op member does not exceed four months in a year, and daily labour productivity is still very low. That is the main reason why our people still meet with difficulties in their life and why the possibilities of accumulation are limited. After investigation into agricultural co-operatives, it was discovered that in some co-operatives members do not work more than one hundred days yearly. Even in the most advanced co-operatives this figure is only 135 days. In the cities and towns, there is still a great waste of labour power.

Our country is very rich in natural resources, and our people have inherited a tradition of courage and diligence. We have a great deal of potentialities for

production, but to turn these potentialities into material wealth we have to exert more efforts. If the proportion of persons participating in productive labour can be raised from two fifths of the population to half of the population, and if the productive working days can be increased by a few months a year, then we would be able to undertake every task, however great it may be.

The direction our struggle must take, is to develop as much as possible the labour capacity of our people, and to organise and create conditions for labour constantly to raise its efficiency. On the other hand, we must make the most rational and economic use of property and wealth created, so as to give us maximum capacities for enlarging production. If much work and funds are devoted to improving the means of production in one year, there will be increased productive forces in the next.

The practice of economy is a very important economic and financial policy of the socialist system. Waste is harmful at all times. In capital construction, if we can save 10 per cent of the outlay on assembling equipment, and building, and if in our State factories we can reduce by 1 per cent the costs of production, then in one year we will be able to build dozens of new factories like our Thong Nhat (Unity) match factory, or the chinaware factory at Hai Duong. This is quite feasible. Through control in 1959, we can see that possibilities for practising economy are very great if there is better organisation in distribution and employment of manpower, in allocation and utilisation of raw materials and other materials, and a drastic struggle is waged against waste... With the sum of

money spent in one year on festivities in the countryside of north Viet Nam we could build scores of new irrigation networks such as the Bac-Hung-Hai network or provide each province with 2 or 3 machine and tractor stations. From an initial investigation into a number of co-operatives in Thanh Hoa, Phu Tho, Thai Binh and Ninh Binh, it was seen that the average annual spending by peasant families and members of the co-operatives on family or social functions on the occasions of marriages and funerals, etc., when added together equal the accumulation fund for enlarged reproduction. Some families spend hundreds of dong; the smallest sums spent are 20 to 30 dong. To induce the people to cut down such spending will not be in the least harmful to the improvement of the people's livelihood; on the contrary, it will have a good effect upon the struggle against bad customs and habits left behind by the old society.

All these savings can be effected to the greater benefit of production, of the people's life, of both the State and the people. We feel sure that our people have enough energy and the ability to save in this way if we educate them, and encourage them to labour hard and to practise economy in order to build the country and build co-operatives. Our cadres and people must be helped to realise that only with a powerful development of the productive forces and the wisdom of millions of people can we build our country and, from a war-ravaged and backward agricultural economy provide it with an economy endowed with modern industry and modern agriculture. This is a glorious but hard and complicated task.

The building of the iron and steel centre in Thai Nguyen province requires capital equal to the entire output of the 1959 summer rice crop throughout the North. The building of an irrigation project such as the Thac Ba project or the setting up of a number of State farms covering an area of 500,000 hectares and fully equipped, requires a sum of money amounting to the whole annual revenue from agricultural taxes in north Viet Nam. To lay the material and technical foundation of socialism, we must build a great number of new factories, farms, hydraulic projects, and economic and cultural establishments. We have been relying on the aid granted by the brother countries to cover expenditure on economic construction and cultural development, but home resources must be the main ones. In the First Five-Year Plan, on the basis of developed production, our State economy will grow more powerfully, and the people's income will also increase. In these favourable conditions we must ensure the rapid increase of revenue in State finance. On the other hand, we must economise on expenditure in order to increase the power of capital and be able with limited capital to do many things on the principle ; more, faster, better, and cheaper.

As regards the co-operatives, great efforts must be made in the near future to stimulate their members to increase production and economise in order to raise their accumulation funds. In the five years to come, they must be able to raise their accumulation funds from the proportion of 10% to that of 15% of the total of their income. Building the co-operatives and improving the means of production require very big capital.

The State must assist the co-ops in this, but the co-ops must themselves provide the greater part. Aiming for the above-mentioned targets, if our people's courage, labour and economy are mobilised, there will be a good possibility of increasing socialist accumulation, improving the people's livelihood, and properly and actively settling the relationship between accumulation and consumption.

Under our system, there is complete unity between accumulation and consumption, between individual interests and State interests. Should we not realise this and instead oppose the interests of the State to the interests of the people, and the need of improving the people's life to the need of expanding production, we would be completely at fault. Such an error could easily lead to wrong policies and measures; and not only would it fail to promote the enthusiasm of the people and the cadres, but could also easily cause unnecessary tensions. On the other hand, we must be aware that, although in the last analysis, State and people's interests, long-range and immediate interests are the same thing, in actual fact, at certain times and places, such unity does not exist yet. Due to their low level of conception and consciousness, some people see only the immediate interests and not the long-range ones, only personal interests and not State interests. The duty of the Party is precisely to explain to everyone and try and make them understand that they must see both immediate and lasting interests, both personal and public interest, that they must do their utmost to contribute their strength and mind to the fulfilment of their tasks. As the vanguard body of the

society, Party members must be exemplary in this respect. The State must strike a correct balance between accumulation and consumption, while endeavouring to increase socialist accumulation and paying attention to raising the people's living standards. Owing to the low level of the people's living standards and the partition of our country into two zones, the attention given to the appropriate raising of the people's living standards is of great significance, not only for the promotion of the people's health and consequently of the country's production, but also for the cause of national reunification. The steadily improved material and cultural life of the people in the North is a big source of inspiration for the southern people, enabling them to see more clearly the traitorous features of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, henchmen of the U.S. imperialists, and to unite together in their struggle to overthrow them.

3 — Socialist economy enjoys the right conditions for quick development because under the socialist system, the labouring people enjoy conditions in which they can develop their capabilities and minds and to make full use of the natural resources of the country.

Under our socialist system, the productive forces of society are constantly developing. The more our national wealth increases, the more State revenues and accumulation funds of the co-operatives increase, and the more the possibilities for expanding production and improving the people's life increase, the bigger and more complicated tasks in the management of economy and finance will our Party and our State organs have to face. Only satisfactory management work can promote the positive factors, eliminate the negative ones,

and serve production and the people's interests. We entered the transitional period to socialism with great revolutionary enthusiasm, but not without a great amount of false conceptions, ideologies and habits left behind by the old society, such as largeness, cupidity, indiscipline, lack of responsibilities. These negative elements must be overcome step by step, while the interests of the socialist State must be defended by increasingly strict regulations on management and organisation. What we demand of the management of economy and finance is not only that correct economic and financial policies be formulated and measures taken, not only that there be sure organisation for the implementation of such correct policies and measures, but also that these policies and measures be carried out satisfactorily to the greatest benefit of production and the people's life, and with the greatest saving. That a job done is good or not does not depend solely upon whether it gives us a concrete result conforming to our intentions, but also upon how much society has spent to acquire such a result. If the result is small and expenditure are high, then the job cannot be considered as well done.

By 1960, the investment for capital construction in the State budget increased by 4.2 as compared with 1955; revenue from local budgets alone, was only equal to the total home revenue in the 1955 State budget, and was 50 per cent higher than the total revenue in the 1954 State budget. Year after year, construction sites for capital construction increase in number and size, more factories are built, State farms established, State shops opened, cultural and public amenities works

start functioning. All these require good management. Besides former private capitalist industrial and trading enterprises after transformation, agricultural handicraft or fishing co-operatives are also growing and also need good management. Good management cuts down waste and increases the possibilities for pushing ahead production and improving the people's life; the contrary would mean waste and corruption and be most detrimental to the State and the people, adversely influencing the people's and the cadres' enthusiasm and unity of mind.

In short, since the re-establishment of peace, we have exerted many efforts and registered much progress in the management of economy and finances. Through the various drives for improving the management of enterprises, applying the system of business accounting in State enterprises, controlling State property, practising economy, and combating waste and corruption, economic and financial management has made big and definite progress. This progress is still rather slow and waste is still great in view of the volume of our work and the complicated requirements of management. A number of comrades and State organs do not fully realise their responsibility in managing State property, and in ensuring strict observance of State financial regulations. They consider that this is cumbersome and unnecessary work, and consequently relax control over financial operations and behave too liberally in this respect. This erroneous conception had brought about bad results. The drives for financial control undertaken in 1959 and early 1960 have shown that where the economic and financial regulations and

discipline of the State were not observed there was great waste, and following it, corruption. We must be determined to put a stop to this situation. We are striving to bring the North from an economy mainly based on individual ownership of means of production to an economy based on ownership by the entire people and collective ownership, from a system of small production to that of large-scale socialist production, simultaneously developing to a high degree the creativeness and initiative of every individual. Therefore there must be strictly uniform management regulations ensuring harmonious co-ordination between all socialist activities, ensuring that everyone respects the common property of the entire people, of the community. Under a socialist system, strict economic and financial regulations and discipline are the expression of correct behaviour on the part of the working class in relation to the property of the toiling people. To mistake economic and financial regulations and discipline under a socialist regime for those under a capitalist regime, and therefore not making adequate efforts to observe these regulations and discipline in a satisfactory manner and ensuring their correct implementation, is wrong and must be corrected.

To endeavour to build the North from a backward agricultural country damaged by several years of war into a country endowed with a modern agriculture and industry is indeed an extremely glorious task, but also a long and arduous fighting process. Our country is poor, the productive forces and the life of the people are still low, we lack everything, and we have to do so many things while our capacities are very limited.

Great are the conditions in our favour, but great also are our difficulties. The only right direction for us to fight along, is to promote to the highest degree our valiant militant traditions and our industriousness, further our advantages, overcome our difficulties and build socialism in north Viet Nam at a quick tempo. Industriousness and thrift for national construction and for the building of co-operation must be the motto of action of our whole Party and entire people in all branches of activity.

**ON THE QUESTION OF THE
NATIONAL UNITED FRONT**

by TON DUC THANG

Dear Comrades,

I fully agree with the political report by the Party Central Executive Committee as presented by Comrade Le Duan, with the draft Revised Party Constitution as presented by Comrade Le Duc Tho, and with the draft resolution on the tasks and direction of the Five-Year Plan presented by Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh.

Now I wish to say something more about our Party's National United Front work.

In line with Marxism-Leninism and in consideration of the situation of our country, our Party's policy ever since its foundation, has been to set up a National United Front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the Party, in order to rally various revolutionary forces, and at the same time to differentiate and isolate the enemy, to direct the spearhead of our attack against the most dangerous enemy, and finally to defeat the common enemy of the revolution.

In the years 1930-1931, our Party founded the anti-imperialist front, built the worker-peasant alliance with a view to overthrowing the imperialist aggressors and the feudal class, and led the masses to a revolutionary upsurge.

In the years 1936-1939, our Party founded the Democratic Front, with the worker-peasant alliance as the main strength and rallying the upper classes, in

order to oppose fascism and the second world war, struggle for peace, food and clothes, and freedom, thereby making the revolutionary movement expand considerably.

In the years 1941-1946, our Party founded the Viet Minh Front, rallying still more numerous revolutionary masses, with a view to overthrowing the French and Japanese imperialists, led the August Revolution to victory, brought about the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and created conditions for the victory of the Resistance war.

In the years 1946-1954, our Party founded the National United Front, united the entire people, mobilised forces for the Resistance, defeated the French colonialist aggressors and the American interventionists, completely liberated the North, and restored peace in Indo-China.

Since 1955, when our Party founded the Fatherland Front, it has been developing further the bloc of national unity, and opposing the American interventionists in south Viet Nam and their agents, with a view to reunifying the country, building a new life in the North, and building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

History has proved that one of the factors leading to the victory of our Revolution was the setting up of the National United Front. We most warmly welcome Comrade Ho Chi Minh's words which have a great significance and sum up the essence of our Party's Front policy.

“ Unity, Unity, great unity !

Success, success, great success ! ”

Since the restoration of peace, the North, completely liberated, has achieved the people's national democratic revolution and is entering the period of transition to socialism. But the South is still under the yoke of the imperialists and feudalists, namely the warmongering U.S.-Diem clique. In face of this situation, the Political Report has set forth our people's revolutionary task in this stage as follows: "To strengthen the entire people's unity, to struggle with determination, to preserve peace, actively to promote the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time, the national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, and to make a factual contribution to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the preservation of peace in South-east Asia and in the world". That is a correct policy, in accordance with the situation in our country and with the present international situation.

In order satisfactorily to implement this great and glorious revolutionary task, our entire people must further strengthen their unity. I fully agree on this point in the Political Report: "In order further to consolidate our people's political and moral single-mindedness, the work of the National People's Front should be extended."

Generally speaking, our National United Front is at present the Viet Nam Fatherland Front. But as our country is still partitioned into two zones, the North and the South, each zone having its own revolutionary

task, the Front in south Viet Nam is in essence the National Democratic Front, while in the North, the Front is in essence the Socialist Front.

From the class view point, the Front in the South includes the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, in other words it includes workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders, the poor urban people, intellectuals, national bourgeois, majority and minority nationalities, patriotic parties, religious sects and all people who have the tendency to oppose the U.S.-Diem clique. To be strong, that Front in the South must naturally follow the principle of basing itself on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. The workers and peasants are the biggest and strongest revolutionary forces. Besides, the soldiers, though armed and used by the U.S.-Diem clique to repress the revolution, are for the majority drawn from the workers, peasants and unhappy toiling masses, and should therefore be given the greatest attention. That is why the work of the Front in the South should rely on the alliance of the worker-peasant revolutionary masses to carry out the mobilisation of the worker-peasant-soldier union in order to oppose the U.S.-Diem clique in an effective manner.

In face of the Americans' and Diem's war-mongering, fascist acts and ruthless exploitation of the people, and their scheme permanently to divide our country, the Political Report has very correctly set forth: The aim of the struggle of the National United Front in the South is peace, national independence, democratic freedoms, improvement of the people's

living conditions and peaceful reunification of the country. The work of the Front in the South should be very flexible in order to unite all the forces that can be united, rally all the forces that can be rallied and neutralise the forces that should be neutralised, thus drawing numerous forces into the movement of common struggle against the U.S - Diem clique. That front is a broad one which is versatile in forms of struggle to achieve the national people's democratic revolution in the South.

As for the Front in the North, it includes at present the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeois and the national bourgeois who have accepted socialist transformation ; these classes include all nationalities, religions, political parties and organisations, and progressive personalities. The objective of the struggle of the National United Front in the North is socialism and peaceful national reunification.

In this way, how should the Programme of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front approved in 1955 be applied in the South and in the North ?

My opinion is as follows :

This programme has put forth the objective of struggling for the building of Viet Nam into a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong country. It is an objective common to the entire people from the South to the North. The South is carrying out the people's national democratic revolution, and the North, the socialist revolution in order to reach this common goal. Owing to the difference in the situation in the two parts of the country, the South **must** base itself on the spirit of the general programme

of the Fatherland Front to work out for itself a programme suitable for its particular situation.

In the North, the general programme of the Fatherland Front has been crystallised in the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam promulgated on January 1, 1960, which is very adequate to the northern situation.

Only the question of national reunification raised in the programme of the Fatherland Front remains the present common task of both the North and the South. We advocate peaceful national reunification, therefore we approve the principle : both parties will discuss together and agree with each other on the issue and no coercion nor annexation of one side by the other is allowed, as is stipulated in the programme. The struggle for national reunification is a process of arduous, protracted, hard and complicated revolutionary struggle against the American imperialists and their jackals. If we agree with the assessment made in the Political Report, which states that on the road of the struggle waged by our people, our national reunification must be achieved by gradual steps, we must realise that the method of reunifying the country as indicated in the programme of the Fatherland Front, is one of these steps.

* * *

Now I wish to speak of various classes and strata of the people within the Front in the North.

We have always maintained that beside the working class, the peasants, who represent the largest section of the population, are a great force of the

Revolution. To consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, our Party has carried out land reform, overthrown the landlords as a class, turned over the land to the peasants, assisted the peasants to increase production and raise their standard of living, and it is now leading the peasants towards agricultural co-operation. In the past we completely relied on the former landless and poor-land peasants, and at present rely on the poor-land and lower middle peasants; at the same time we are endeavouring to rally and unite with the middle peasants and carry out the socialist transformation of the rich peasants. Our peasants have great confidence in our Party, but we should not do things hastily and cannot give orders to peasants; we must patiently educate and persuade them in taking them to socialism.

Handicraftsmen, small traders and all other individual working people are also close friends of the working class. We should pay due attention to their work and their living, continue to lead them towards the road of co-operation, and educate them in socialist ideology.

The role played by the intellectuals in the national democratic revolution is important. It is all the more so in the socialist revolution and construction. We have carried out the policy of unity and transformation with regard to the intellectuals of the former generation the majority of whom have a background of feudal, bourgeois or upper petty-bourgeois class and were moulded into the bourgeois ideology in schools run by imperialists and colonialists. We have trained new intellectuals who have a working class or peasant

background, or are revolutionary cadres. Henceforward, we shall continue to carry through this policy in order to have in a short time, a large army of intellectuals who will serve the Fatherland and the people, and are loyal to the working class, the toiling people and the socialist cause.

Having suffered from imperialist oppression and unfair feudal competition, our national bourgeois have to a certain degree a national democratic spirit. In the interests of the revolution, we rallied the national bourgeoisie in the national bourgeois revolution, and we must continue to rally them in the socialist revolution. While going together with the working class on the revolutionary path, the national bourgeoisie, because of their intrinsic nature, waver easily and often display tendencies to compromise and reformism, and are always inclined to indulge in capitalist development. While uniting with them we must fight against their negative side. Since the North has entered the transitional period on its road to socialism, and owing to the fact that the national bourgeoisie is in any case small and weak, the working class has been in a leading position in the revolution, and holds in its hands the people's democratic power and the strong forces of state economy. As the international situation has changed, socialism has become an ever growing and stronger world system which has surpassed capitalism, and has had a good influence on the situation in our country. We have been following the policy of using, restricting and peacefully transforming the national bourgeoisie, whom we regard as a section of the people and members of the Fatherland Front. This is beneficial

to the socialist revolution in the North and to the struggle for national reunification. Facts have proved that our policy is a correct one. Generally speaking, the national bourgeoisie has accepted this policy. Up till now, we can say that the socialist transformation of the national capitalist economy has fundamentally been completed. That is a great victory in the socialist revolution. However, we still allow the national bourgeois to receive a certain amount of interests and are only beginning to re-educate them. We have to continue to help the national bourgeois in their socialist transformation, with a view to wiping out the capitalist class and turning the capitalists into genuine working people under the socialist regime.

The Viet Nam Democratic Party, representing the progressive elements among the national bourgeoisie and the upper section of the petty bourgeoisie, and the Viet Nam Socialist Party, representing the progressive elements among the upper class intelligentsia, have always followed the policy set forth by our Party. Both parties have contributed an important part to the national democratic revolution. In the socialist revolution, the Democratic Party has helped the national bourgeoisie to accept our Party's policy of socialist transformation, and the Socialist Party has helped the intellectuals in their re-education and contribution to socialist revolution. From now on, both parties, while continuing to educate themselves along socialist lines, will go on giving ideological assistance to the bourgeois and intellectuals with whom they are connected. The existence of the two parties has a good effect on the socialist revolution and the struggle for national

reunification. We will maintain, as we have consistently done, brotherly unity with the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party, co-operate with them for a long time and help one another in the National United Front.

The larger part of our country is mountainous. The nationalities in mountainous regions play an important role; and from the geographical, economic and political points of view and in the history of the revolution, we have always opposed the division of nationalities, great nation chauvinism. Our policy is to promote unity and equality between the various nationalities, and encourage mutual assistance so that they may progress together. The majority nationality must give active and affectionate assistance to the nationalities in mountainous regions, enabling them to keep abreast with their brothers in the common progress. The establishment of the Thai Meo autonomous region and the Viet Bac autonomous region, and the implementation of democratic reforms there have crystallised our Party's policy on nationalities. But we still have to overcome our shortcomings and weak points while carrying out the policy on nationalities so that our work in this field may obtain better and better results.

In our country, there are many religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Protestantism, Caodaism and Hoa Haoism. The imperialists used to provoke enmity and division between non-Christians and Christians and between the various religions, and they also made use of religion to sabotage the revolution. We believe in Marxism-Leninism, and do not practise any religion

but we know that religion is a lasting social question, therefore, we respect the freedom to believe or not to believe in religion. We are sympathetic towards religious workers who love their country, love peace, and approve of socialism; but we will not allow the use of religion as a mask to cover the agents of the imperialists. In recent years, we have been strengthening the unity among non-Christians and Christians and among the different religions. In their activities, our comrades have mainly relied on the basic masses, have united them and at the same time, have endeavoured to rally the upper social strata. We will continue to do so and make efforts to do better and better.

The democratic personalities in our country belong to the upper social strata of various religions and nationalities. Formerly we obtained their support for the national democratic revolution, and now we also have their support for socialism and for the peaceful national reunification. We are continuing to help them to make progress in the interests of the revolution.

The Vietnamese living abroad have been turning their minds towards their Fatherland, the North and President Ho Chi Minh. Our policy has always been to unite fellow countrymen abroad as well as in the country, to defend the legitimate interests of Vietnamese nationals living abroad, to encourage those who live in the brotherly countries to participate in socialist construction there, to instruct those who live in other countries to respect the local laws and customs, to promote friendship with the people in the countries where they live, and to welcome those Vietnamese living abroad

who want to return to the North to take part in the construction of the Fatherland.

The Fatherland Front at various levels and the Fatherland Front in general representing the component parts of the national unity bloc, has had an important effect on the struggle for national reunification and consolidation of the North. We are unceasingly consolidating and developing the Fatherland Front and enhancing its role. As for the style of work in the Fatherland Front committees at various levels as well as in government organs and enterprises, we should discuss the common work in a democratic manner with people who are not Party members, attentively listen to them, welcome good suggestions, explain matters carefully if the ideas put forward are wrong ones, and we should practise friendly criticism and self-criticism among members of the Front.

The Party's policy on the National United Front is reflected in concrete policies towards the different classes and social strata ; the work of the National United Front covers all branches and all sections of the population. Wherever the Party Committees and our comrades pay due attention to the National United Front policy and the National United Front work, good results are obtained in doing the tasks entrusted by the Party or the Government. Where the contrary happens, mistakes are easily made, which may have serious consequences. Therefore, we cannot avoid criticising the attitude of underestimating the policy and work of the National United Front.

While doing work for the Front, we should keep in mind the following points :

1) To uphold the leadership of the Party. The Party's right to leadership is not to be shared by others and not to be confused, because realities in our country have shown that only the Party of the working class guided by Marxism-Leninism has a correct political line and is determined to lead its allies towards the set aim. Our Party should maintain good relations with the masses, unite all revolutionary classes and social strata around it. At the same time, we must make these revolutionary classes and strata realise that only in believing in the Party and uniting around it, can victory be won.

2) We should unceasingly strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and on the basis of the worker and peasant forces rally the other social strata. Otherwise, it would be difficult to win over the upper social strata; and if we can rally them at all, without the worker-peasant alliance, the National United Front would not have a solid foundation.

3) The work of the National United Front is a special form of class struggle; therefore, we should at the same time unite with our allies and fight against their erroneous thoughts and deeds; unite to safeguard the revolutionary front, and fight further to strengthen unity. Unity cannot be exempt from criticism and struggle, and struggle cannot be without principle and harmful to unity.

Dear Comrades,

The National United Front, a major policy, a major task, has an important position in the revolutionary struggle. With the realities of Viet Nam, with the spirit of the Political Report by the Party Central Committee, we believe that after this Congress, the National United Front work will be thoroughly understood and will make further progress.

**DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROLE OF
TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS IN
SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALISATION IN
NORTH VIET NAM**

by HOANG QUOC VIET

Dear Comrades,

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Dear Comrades,

During the days when our Party was preparing for the Congress and now during the sessions of the Third National Party Congress, the Vietnamese working class and the Vietnamese people have been attentively watching the work of the Congress with enthusiasm and confidence. This is quite easy to understand, because at this Congress, problems of great significance for the political and economic life of the whole country are being discussed and decided. The reports of the Central Committee to the Congress have raised very important problems concerning the tasks and line of the present stage of the revolution. With a great stimulating power these reports have shown to our whole Party and people the way toward new victories in the building of socialism in the North, and in the struggle for the completion of the national democratic revolution in the South with a view to building a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam. That is why we warmly acclaim and fully agree with the reports presented to the Congress by the Central Committee.

The Third National Party Congress is meeting at a time when the political struggle of the entire people against the U.S.-Diem clique as well as the production struggle on the part of the working masses in the North are going through a most inspiring stage. Since the beginning of this year, in strictly carrying out the

instructions of the Central Committee and of the government, and the resolutions of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions on the development of the movement for the betterment of management of state enterprises, and on the transformation of the private capitalist commerce and industry, our workers and cadres in the whole North have been enthusiastically pushing forward the emulation drive with the motto "strive to become an advanced worker, an advanced team and an advanced unit", and with the determination to overfulfil the 1960 plan and the Three-Year Plan in order to greet the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Third National Party Congress with their achievements. That is why, as you know, in recent days, more and more news about great achievements in factories, on construction sites and collective farms... has been pouring in to greet the Party Congress. According to the latest figures, up to now the workers and cadres in 35 enterprises have fulfilled the Three-Year Plan four to six months ahead of schedule. The survey team of the tin mine at Cho Dien notably, fulfilled the Three-Year Plan 401 days earlier, i.e. at the end of 1959.

It is impossible to enumerate all the great achievements that tens of thousands of workers and cadres have made in order to greet the Congress. In the emulation drive of an ever-wider scope the working masses have shown their activity and their creativeness in production and in building, and are ready to accept the heavy but glorious responsibilities with which the Party Congress will entrust the working

class and the Trade Unions. Therefore, the general line of socialist construction in the North, especially the socialist industrialisation that the Party Congress will adopt will certainly be a tremendous source of inspiration encouraging the people to strive to emulate in production in order successfully to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan. Up to now and from now on, through practical actions in the emulation for production and building, the Vietnamese working class and trade union organisations, imbued with class zeal have been expressing and will continue to express their unlimited love for and their firm confidence in their vanguard Party which is the Viet Nam Workers' Party headed by our respected Président Ho Chi Minh.

Dear Comrades,

Basing itself on the peculiarities of the situation of our country and on the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the pursuit of the Vietnamese revolution, the Congress has correctly drawn up the tasks and guiding principle for the completion of the national democratic revolution in the whole country and has in particular set out the general line for the socialist revolution in the North, comprising the tasks of socialist transformation, socialist industrialisation and socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique.

In order to secure the successful implementation of the general line and the First Five-Year Plan, the Political Report has stressed the question of the strengthening of the Party leadership and that of the

working class in the socialist revolution and has correctly assessed the endeavours of the workers since the re-establishment of peace, at the same time direction is also given regarding raising the leading role of the working class in the days to come. The Political Report says: "The working class of north Viet Nam has been in the forefront of the economic restoration and development, it has enthusiastically participated in the patriotic emulation movement, actively developed its initiative, improved technique, driven production forward and practised economy. In the future, to further raise the leading role of the working class, we must attach special importance to giving the workers ideological and political education, enhancing their consciousness of their position and responsibility as leaders, as well as their Party to maintain and consolidate their alliance with the working peasantry. At the same time, we must endeavour to foster the workers culturally and technically."

The Political Report also stresses:

"Hand in hand with the strengthening of education given to the workers, Party leadership of the workers' movement must be strengthened, the position of the trade unions in all social activities must be raised, to make the trade unions real schools of economic and State management, and of socialism and communism. The trade union organisations must be strengthened and the capacity of trade union cadres raised to help the unions in State enterprises and joint State-private enterprises to take part effectively in the management of production and in the improvement of the conditions of the material and cultural life of the toiling masses."

It is so clear, and so thorough! To stress the heightening of the leading role of the Party and of the working class, to strengthen the Party leadership with regard to the trade union and the workers' movement and to raise the position of the trade union in every field of social activity in a clear and overall manner is very correct and very necessary. Thus the Party clearly sets out the basic instructions for the workers' movement and the trade union organisations in the stage of socialist revolution in the North at present, at the same time making the whole Party united in the understanding of the necessity for paying attention to the building of its own class in order to give a firm guarantee to the success of the socialist industrialisation of north Viet Nam. That is a great source of encouragement and a decisive factor in the development of the trade union and workers' movement in the coming days.

As we all know, to carry out the Party general line in the period of transition, and especially to ensure the successful completion of the tasks of socialist industrialisation in the North, our Party must rely on the efforts and consciousness of the people, first and foremost of the working class. The unceasing heightening of the political consciousness and the spirit of organisation of the working class is a basic guarantee for the success of the socialist revolution. On the other hand, to build our Party into a really strong Party of the working class, to strengthen the class character and the vanguard character of the Party, and to consolidate the socialist bases of the people's democratic State which is carrying out the historic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, our Party must intensify its

relations with the working masses, especially the ties of the Party with its own class, and intensify Party work among the working masses. The ties of the Party with the working class exist mainly through the trade unions, because they are the broadest organisation of the working class, the link between the Party and the working masses and employees.

Looking back over the stages we have been through, we have seen that the workers' movement in our country since it has been under the direct leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, has developed and matured rapidly in all fields. In the whole glorious revolution of the working class through all the stages of revolutionary work as well as in the success of 15 years of building the people's democratic power, the trade union organisations, the broad mass organisation of the working class, worked under one or another form, now openly, now secretly, and had positive effects in uniting and mobilising a large number of workers and employees to realise the political and economic tasks of the Party.

After the victory of the August Revolution, the working class, from being in the position of slaves, have become the masters of their country, the leading class of the first people's democratic State in South-east Asia. The trade union organisations, from being in an illegal position struggling against the State of the former ruling class, have become the firm support of the people's democratic State led by the working class. Every activity of the trade unions is centered round the building, safeguarding and developing of the new regime. When the French came back to occupy our

country once again, the trade unions concentrated all their activities to mobilise the workers and the working masses to take part in the armed and semi-armed organisations, and at the same time actively built up the resistance economy.

After the complete liberation of the North and the stepping into the transitional stage to socialism, the forces of the working class in the North have quickly matured to the rhythm of economic rehabilitation and development. To switch their centre of activities over to production, the trade unions have gathered the working people and educated them in class sense, in the sense of organisation and discipline, in the sense of being the masters of the country and the enterprises. At the same time the trade unions actively organise and lead the patriotic emulation movement, constantly aiming at raising labour productivity, mobilising and encouraging the movement for innovations and the improvement of technique, in order to secure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the State plan. In implementing the trade union laws adopted by the National Assembly at the end of 1957, in the movement for better management of State enterprises and for the implementation of State-private enterprises, the trade unions have started raising the class sense and socialist consciousness of the workers and employees, and play an active role in the mobilisation of the working masses and employees to take part in the management of production and enterprises, with good forms of democratic management, such as Congresses of workers and employees, and production meetings at the enterprises and construction sites. The trade unions have selected

from the working class and from the trade union organisations a number of cadres capable of economic leadership to supply to the Party and to the State.

On the basis of development of production, the trade unions have taken part in the setting up and the supervision of the implementation of all policies and labour regulations of the Party and the State aiming at raising the material and cultural standards of the labouring masses. On the one hand, the trade unions have educated the working masses in the spirit of enduring hardships, of being industrious, of practising economy for the sake of the building of the country, and of enhancing all positive aspects of the masses in the organisation of their everyday life at the enterprises and offices. Thanks to that, the material and cultural life of the workers and employees has been clearly improved since the re-establishment of peace. The real wages of the workers and employees have increased by 33 per cent according to the policy of wage increases, and unemployment left over by the former regime has been basically solved. Welfare facilities for the workers and employees such as club houses, dwellings, dining rooms, kindergartens, and public conveniences for women at the factories and mines, etc., have been built in large numbers.

Through a process of building, particularly since the economic rehabilitation and development for the advance of the North toward socialism, we have noticed that under the Party's direct leadership and thanks to the study of valuable experiences gained by trade unions in other socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, to a given degree and in practical

work, the Vietnamese trade unions have started promoting their role as a school for economic management and State management, and a school for socialist and communist education of workers and other strata of the working people.

However, since the complete liberation of the North, because we have been slow in realising the role of the trade unions in the period of transition to socialism, not all activities have been developed in good time in accordance with the task of the trade unions in the period of socialist revolution; and the work of mobilising the workers was sometimes not thoroughly understood as an integral part of the work of the Party and the State; there were, therefore, certain limitations.

With the new understanding the Congress has this time of the important role and the present heavy responsibility of the working class and of the trade union organisations, and with the attention given to the matter at the various Party levels, we are confident that the shortcomings of the mobilisation of the workers and of the trade union organisations will be speedily remedied.

Dear Comrades,

We are now entering a new period, the period of completing socialist transformation and the first step of building the material and technical foundations of socialism in the North.

To raise the role of the trade unions in the building of socialism, particular attention must be paid first of all to promoting the role of the trade unions in

socialist industrialisation in the sphere of economic management. According to the teachings of Lenin :

“The greatest and most fundamental role of the proletariat after the capture of power is to produce many goods, develop the social forces of production to the greatest extent. Trade unionism is in general the school of communism and in particular must be the school of the management of socialist industry (and gradually later on of the management of agriculture) for all workers, then for all the people.”

Starting from the above-mentioned principles, in order to carry out the Party general line in the transitional period in the North, the trade union organisations must pay particular attention to the organisation and education of the working class into a class having a deep political consciousness, having a high cultural and technical standard, and a rigid sense of organisation and discipline so as to develop further the activity and creativeness of the working class with a view successfully to fulfilling socialist industrialisation, first and foremost fulfilling and overfulfilling the First Five-Year Plan. That is the central task of the trade unions and of the workers' movement in the North at present.

Socialist industrialisation is linked with the future development of the working class and the trade union organisations. Only with socialist industrialisation can north Viet Nam be completely divorced from the wretched and backward past of many thousands of years under feudalism and colonialism, and can it eradicate the cause of the regime of exploitation, and build up the material and technical foundations of

socialism in order to bring about a constant improvement of the material and cultural life of the working class and working people. Socialist industrialisation will help the forces of the working class grow ever stronger, and as a result the position and leading role of the working class will rise higher and higher, the powers and tasks of the trade unions will be strengthened and developed. In carrying out socialist industrialisation the working class will produce many farming implements, agricultural machines, chemical fertilizers and consumer goods to supply to the working peasants, and with it bring about the further consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the collective peasantry, and a firmer consolidation of the social bases of the people's democratic State which is carrying out the proletarian dictatorship.

In order successfully to achieve socialist industrialisation, first and foremost we must fulfil and endeavour to overfulfil the First Five-Year Plan, and the trade unions must promote their role as the school of economic management and State management. In this sphere, in recent years, particularly after the implementation of the new policy on the management of enterprises, construction sites, collective farms, etc., trade union organisations have shown definite progress. Previously in many enterprises, construction sites and collective farms there existed a rather common state of things which was that the administrative and technical organs give all their minds to production and the trade unions only took care of the improvement of the living standards of the people. When the trade unions put forth the slogan of

taking production as their central task, there were people who said that as production was the common responsibility of the Party, the State, and the economic organs, there was no need for the trade unions to concern themselves with production; there were even people who did not have confidence in the capacity of the working masses and trade union organisations for participating in enterprise and economic management, and there were people who saw in it an interference in production and technical matters. Up to now, practical experience in the emulation movement in production and in the mobilisation for better management of State enterprises have overcome these wrong conceptions and understanding. In a socialist State, the working class manages the factories, mines, construction sites, collective farms and other enterprises belonging to the entire people first of all through the competent State organs and economic bodies. Beside the State organs, the working class through the trade union organisations, takes part in the management of production controlling from below the activities of the enterprise manager and the leading economic body.

According to the trade union laws, in order to stimulate the workers and employees to take part in the management of production in the enterprises, the Congresses of workers and employees, and production meetings directly organised and led by the trade union, are a form of democratic management in the enterprises, combining the principle of one-man responsibility for the management of the enterprise with the right of the broad masses to take part in the management of production and the right of control. In these

meetings, the working masses and employees discuss in a practical way problems concerning production plans, measures to organise production, labour organisations, improvement of the internal management of the enterprises, and review plans on the improvement of the material and cultural life of the workers such as the use of welfare funds, the building of dwellings, canteens, etc. At present, in the State enterprises there are tens of thousands of workers, employees, and technical cadres who are trade union members and who are elected delegates to the Congress of workers and employees. It is a practical school enabling the masses to take part in economic management and State management. This proves all the more the correctness of the conception expounded in the Political Report, namely "parallel to the firm maintenance of responsibility on the part of the manager under the leadership of the Party organisation in the enterprise, there must be a strong mobilisation of the working masses to intensify the management of the enterprise." At present we must consolidate, perfect and expand the implementation of democratic management in all enterprises, construction sites and collective farms, especially in the newly established production bases and construction sites. The economic organs of the State must strictly carry out this policy, pay attention to studying and timely solving the proposals on production and living conditions made by the people working in the enterprises. Basing ourselves on the experiences and initiatives of the masses, trade union organisations at various levels such as the trade unions of various branches of production, local trade unions and the

Viet Nam General Confederation of Labour, we see that we must participate more actively in the discussions on production problems, and on the life of the working masses in the organs dealing with economic management of the State.

Socialist emulation is also one of the most important form through which the trade unions stimulate the working masses to take part in the building of socialism, in production management, in the management of economy and the State. Under the leadership of the Party, and with the support of State organs, the trade unions have done much work in expanding and gradually raising the movement of patriotic emulation among the workers and employees. At present the trade unions are endeavouring to intensify the organisation and direction of the emulation drive to mobilise all the workers and employees to take part in socialist emulation, to give to the movement more concrete aims, and to secure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan in an all-round manner: plentifully, rapidly, well and cheaply.

In the direction for the industrial development in the coming Five-Year Plan, the Political Report clearly stated: " It is necessary to concentrate efforts to promote the constant raising of labour productivity and reduction of production costs. To reach this goal, we must develop the workers' enthusiasm in productive labour on the basis of political and ideological education and the higher cultural and technical level, combined with the improvement of the wages system and the development of public welfare; we must strengthen

labour organisation, enhance labour discipline, encourage the improvement of organisation and techniques, widely apply advanced techniques, fully utilise our equipment and machines and universalise business accounting systems; expand production and practise economy. ”

This is an active method for ensuring the over-fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan. We fully agree with it and consider it as the goal to reach and the concrete content of the ‘front rank’ emulation drive.

At present, in many enterprises, construction sites, State farms, transport companies, commercial concerns, etc., there is a great waste of manpower, machinery and raw materials; many experiences gained and innovations suggested by the masses have not been adopted and popularised in good time. Trade unions consider it their duty to mobilise the masses to discover all sources of reserve and all potentialities in order to use them in raising labour productivity and cutting down production costs. Trade unions must also actively support innovations suggested by the masses, resolutely fight against conservatism and bureaucratic behaviour, and see to a speedy study and application of innovations.

To ensure a continuous and stable development of the emulation drive in State enterprises according to the requirements of the State plan, I propose that from now on, Party organs at various levels pay attention to strengthening the unified leadership of the emulation drive in order closely to co-ordinate the activities of the organs dealing with economic management and the production emulation movement and

the movement for the improvement of management bearing a mass character at the enterprises. Party Committees must act as true centre of close co-ordination between State organs in charge of economic management on the one side and trade unions, Labour Youth Union organisations on the other; they must direct all the activities of those organisations to a single aim, namely to raise labour productivity, fulfil and overfulfil the State plan.

Dear Comrades!

The general line of the socialist revolution and the plan for economic development established by our Party represent the fullest and deepest care given to the constant improvement of the life of our working class and people. The raising of the income of the collective peasant and the wages of the workers and employees in the next five years, the proclamation of the law on social insurance for the workers and employees and the strengthening of labour safety, the expansion of newly built living quarters and public welfare, once again prove that the development of production under our system aims at satisfying the ever increasing material and cultural needs of the working people.

Therefore, while carrying out educational work the trade unions highly value the principle "through material interests, make the people interested in the results of their labour." The trade unions realise their great responsibility, namely to use every means to contribute their part, together with various State organs, to fully carrying out the policies and law of

the Party and the State on the improvement of the life of the workers and employees. Working closely with the State and being the defenders of the legitimate interests of the working masses, the trade unions must actively take part in the drawing up of those laws and policies.

The active participation of the trade union in the implementation of policy of wage increases and improvement of the wages system, their direct role in the organisation and management of the social insurance funds entrusted them by the State, their participation in the implementation of the building and allocation of houses as well as in other public amenities for labour, are great problems in the work of looking after the life of the workers and employees. The trade unions actively and fully use their rights and their responsibility as stipulated in the Trade Unions Law to supervise the organs dealing with economic management so as to ensure respect for and the good application of the laws on the protection of labour and on the improvement of the working conditions of the workers and employees. The trade unions cannot afford not to start the ideological task of making the masses thoroughly understand the guiding principle of "industriousness and thrift in national construction", they must clearly see the relations between accumulation of capital and consumption in order correctly to co-ordinate immediate interests and long-term interests, individual interests and those of the State. Beside the use of every possibility afforded by the State for the improvement of the workers' life, the trade unions must attach great importance to the

mobilisation and education of the masses, so that they will themselves organise their life.

To promote the role and the responsibilities of the trade unions in their participation in the economic and State management, taking care of the material and cultural life of the working masses, the immediately important problem is the development and consolidation of the strength of the trade unions themselves. We must enhance the fighting power of trade unions and strengthen their ties with the masses, resolutely oppose bureaucracy in every activity of the trade unions, put into practice the slogan "eat together, live together, work together, discuss matters together with the working masses" that President Ho Chi Minh has put forth for trade union cadres. The biggest power of the trade unions lies in their capacity of rallying and uniting the broad masses of the workers and raising the political consciousness and the sense of organisation of the working class. Acting as a school of socialism and communism, trade unions must intensify and improve education work in all spheres in order rapidly to provide the working class with a high political consciousness, with culture and advanced technique, with good organisation and discipline. Only by so doing can we satisfy the requirements of socialist industrialisation in good time. In the years to come, we must train about 200,000 skilled workers and many hundred thousands ordinary workers; this gives the organisational and educational work of trade unions an even more important position in relation to the fostering of workers: the older ones and specially the new ones coming from the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie

and the youth inexperienced in struggle and production, who are new members in the ranks of the working class. Trade union organisations must be developed in time, particularly in the newly-established factories and construction sites. We must consolidate the trade union organisations at the bases into firm bases on which we can rely to mobilise and organise the masses to engage in emulation for the fulfilment of the State plan. It is necessary to train and improve urgently a body of trade union cadres capable in the field of mobilising the masses and in economic management, so as to serve in time the growing workers' movement. This is in fact a source of cadres to be supplied to the Party and to the organs dealing with economic management.

As you all know, at present our trade unions have many concrete responsibilities and powers in the carrying out of the policies of the Party and the State. To enable them to promote their positive role, the Party must strengthen its leadership over trade unions, that is the most decisive factor guaranteeing that every activity of the trade unions will be in accordance with the line approved by this Party Congress. The trade unions have always worked under the leadership of the Party. This leadership has of late been intensified. However, it must be admitted that there are a number of Party cadres in the localities in one or another branch who, owing to inadequate understanding of the role and responsibilities of the trade union, have not closely led the trade union organisations or have taken upon themselves all the work of the trade unions. We propose that Party

organisations must regularly and closely lead the trade union organisations, and through them, closely unite the working class around the Party in order to organise and direct the masses in the emulation drive for higher production and to take part in the management of the enterprises. It is necessary that Party officials should have charge of the way of thinking, life and aspirations of the masses through the trade unions in order to have a concrete direction and measures to educate them, and at the same time to promote the supervisory role of the trade unions in the implementation of the State Labour law with a view to improving the life of the working masses. To strengthen Party leadership over the trade unions implies that the Party should pay attention to leadership in the political and ideological spheres, in the sphere of the guiding principles, policies and plans for important work to be done by the trade unions, and that through Party members working in the trade unions it should control and supervise the implementation of Party policy in the trade unions. As for concrete activities, direct mobilisation of the masses of workers and employees to implement Party and government lines and policies — it is necessary to promote the positive and active role of the trade unions ; the Party must not take upon itself the work of the trade unions and other mass organisations. At the same time, the Party must ensure that the cadres working in various branches of the Party and especially in State organs thoroughly grasp the guiding principle : “ To rely firmly on the working class, on the trade union organisations ”, and attend to the building and improvement of the power of the working class in

order satisfactorily to manage the towns and socialist industry. The Party will thereby be able to promote the chain reaction effect of the trade union organisation, and to strengthen the relations between the Party and the working masses.

Dear comrades,

Trade union organisations in north Viet Nam hold a high political position and possess great economic rights. They take part in State management and economic management. They supervise the protection of labour and the implementation of other labour laws, at the same time organising and supervising the carrying out of public welfare amenities for labour. The trade unions in south Viet Nam do not enjoy any such political and economic rights. If they happen to have any rights at all, it is merely to connive in the dark plots of the U.S.-Diem clique to coax the trade union workers, hoping to deceive them and to weaken the struggle of the working masses. They allow the working people to organise trade unions only for the purpose of making propaganda for the policy of selling the country and their pro-U.S. policy, and in order to prohibit the working people to organise themselves differently. On his U.S. masters' orders, Diem is harping on many other deceitful themes hoping to lull the people, such as his labour policies called "promoting of working people's interests", "common social progress"... To pretend to be democratic and progressive, to show that he is paying attention to the interests of the masses, Diem put forth the policy of "democratisation of the economy" and "collective contracts" between workers and employers.

More ironical still is the fact that, in order to solve the question of unemployment, Diem set up "agrovilles", and "prosperity zones", which are nothing better than concentration camps to imprison and murder patriots. But the reason why the U.S.-Diem clique have not been able to get their own way by such manoeuvres, is because the working class in south Viet Nam have lived through 30 years of trials and have steeled themselves in the revolutionary struggles, so they understand what is really meant by imperialism, feudalism, and the compradores, and despite the coaxing, cheating, 'denounce communism' campaigns, mopping up operations and killings, the working class never ceases to struggle. During these last six years, since the time when the U.S.-Diem clique refused to implement the Geneva Agreements, the workers in the South have continuously struggled and fought against the dismissal of workers, for the solution of the unemployment problem, for higher wages, for better working conditions, against the "U.S. aid" policy, for democratic freedoms, and peaceful reunification. The working class is always faithful to the revolution and the Fatherland, and is striving to unite with all sections of the patriotic population in south Viet Nam resolutely to oppose every U.S.-Diem plot, to liberate the South, and achieve national reunification. Only by so doing, can the workers and people in the South and the workers and people in the North be re-united and enjoy in common all other rights which they themselves will establish.

To express confidence in the valiant revolutionary power of the working class and people in the South who are standing on the front line of the struggle

against the U.S.-Diem for the peaceful reunification of the country, I propose that the Congress warmly acclaim the indomitable spirit of the working class and people of south Viet Nam.

Dear comrades,

Under the Party's leadership, the trade union organisations of Viet Nam have gone through many highly dangerous and arduous, but most glorious stages. Today the trade unions have become a force growing bigger and bigger in the struggle for the building of socialism. The tasks and direction set forth by the Party Congress for the whole Party, the entire people and all the trade unions, will be the platform of struggle for further promoting the workers' movement in the whole country.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Viet Nam General Confederation of Labour, and of hundreds of thousands of trade union members, workers and employees, I wish to pledge to the Party Congress, and to the Central Committee, that the trade unions will bring all their minds and strength to struggle for the carrying out of the tasks set by the Party Congress, mobilise the masses of the workers and employees successfully to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan and to achieve the socialist industrialisation of the North, making of the North a stable rear for the struggle for national reunification.

ERRATA

Page	Line	Instead	Please read
15	27	mass of people	masses of the people
16	9	In period	In the period
27	3	members,	members and hundreds of thou- sands of cadres,
37	7	the activities	these activities
136	27	12.000 million	12,000 million
137	9	400,000 killowatt	400,000 kilowatts
139	30	aimed a	aimed at
162	7	producers' collectives of unified southern regroupees	unified producers' collectives of sou- thern regroupees
168	23	put forth for the Five- Year Plan	put forth by the Five- Year Plan
178	2	supply, good seeds	supply good seeds
186	19	1959 : 548.9	1959 : 448.9
188	22	293.3	193.3
194	3	towards setting up the	towards the setting up of
207	8	the cooperatives	the cooperatives'
211	26	in a year,	in a year),
213	26	Party members	Party members'
213	28	leadership	leadership
222	20	spareparts	spare parts
234		larginess	laziness
234	22	are	is
234	25	4.2	4.2 times
243	27	National People's Front	National United Front
260	16	their Party	their duty

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